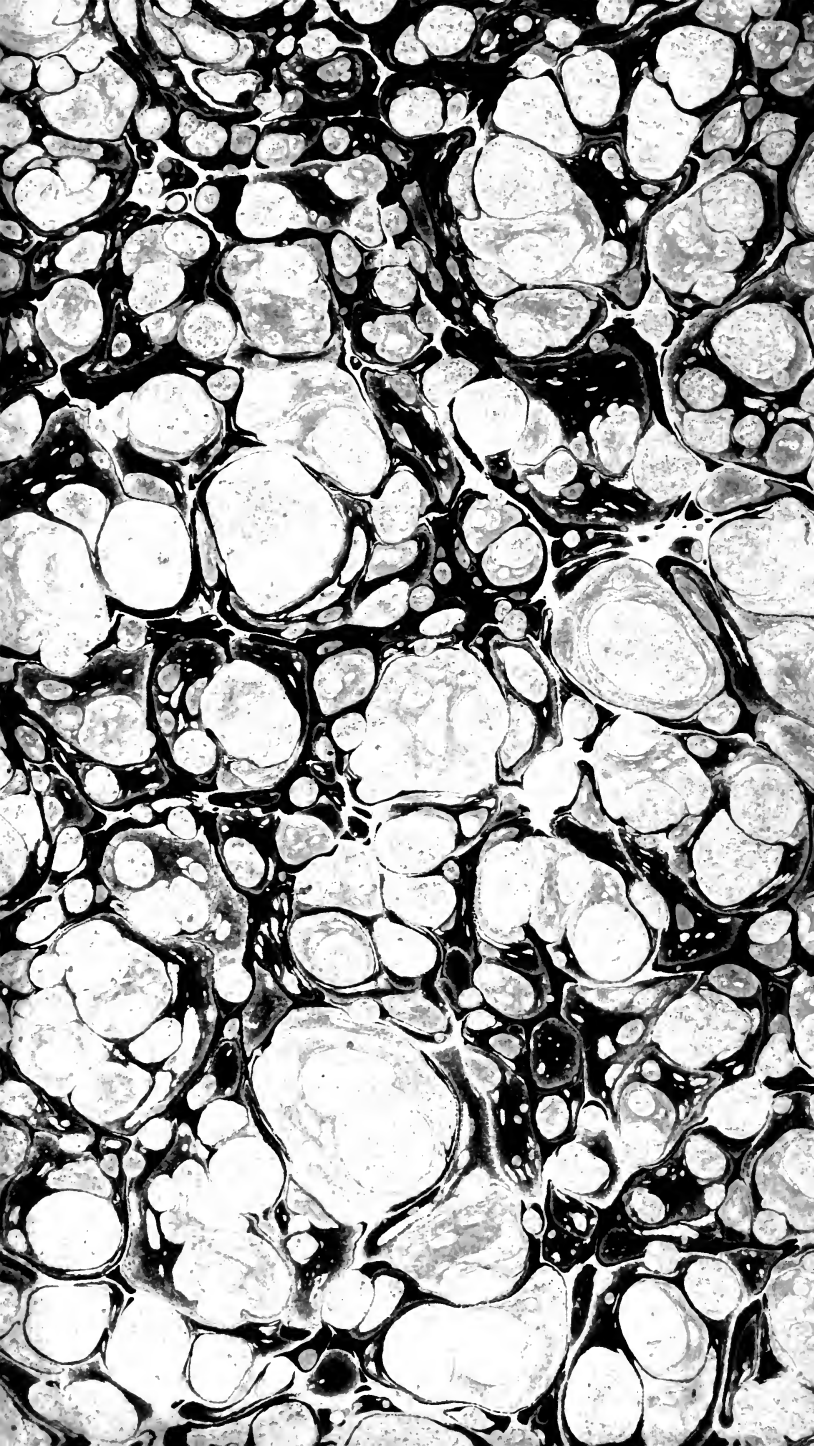


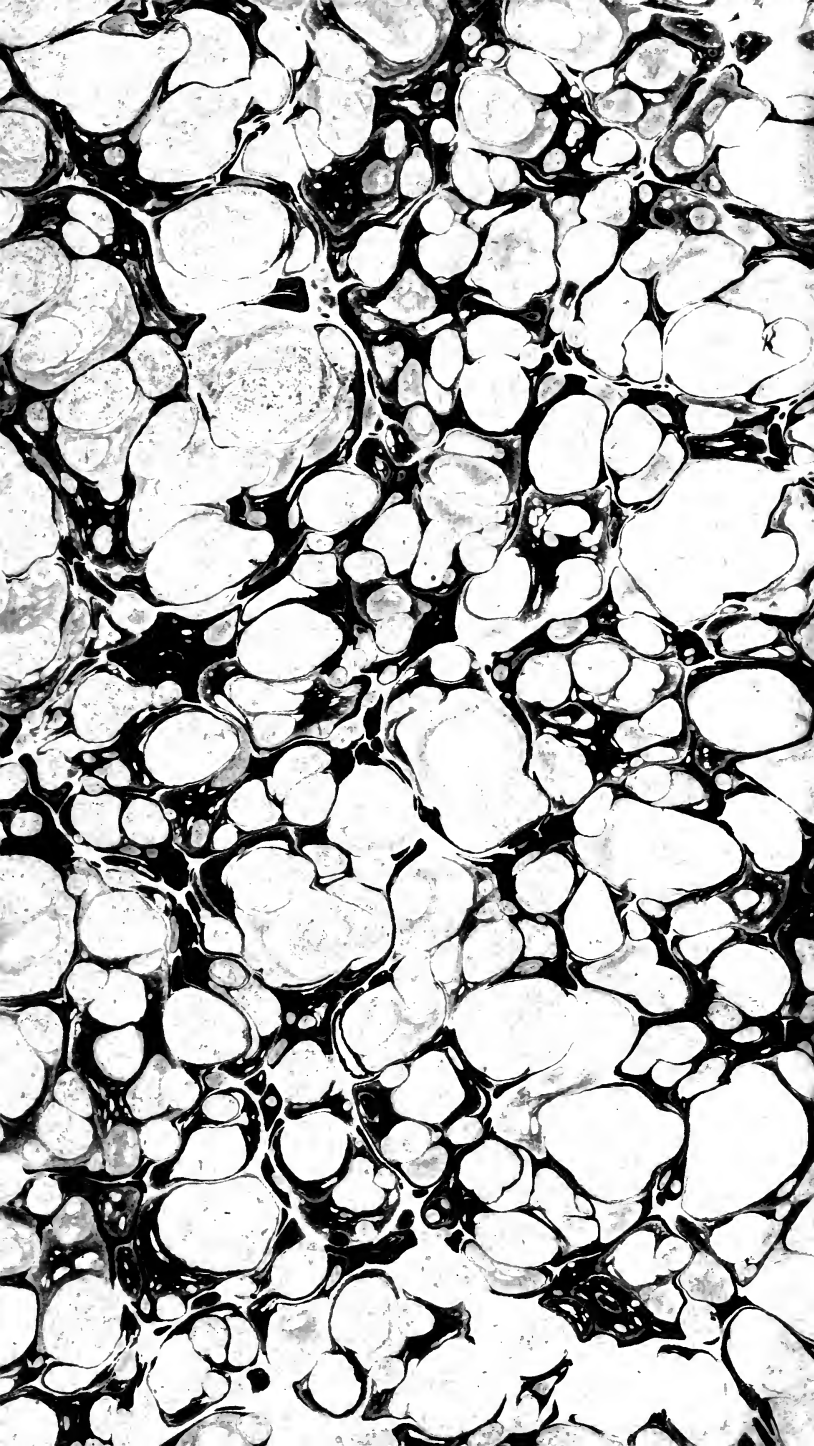
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Thomas Hughes.







THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY M. ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, &c. &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

A New Edition,

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS

CONTINUED.

THE twenty-first Book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the History of the Jews, from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the title of King, to the reign of Herod the Great, the Idumæan.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate those circumstances of it which were most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history, to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the laudable cu-

riosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed. Dean Prideaux, of whom I have here made much use, may be also consulted for the same purpose.

SECT. I. *Reign of Aristobulus the First, which lasted two years.*

HYRCANUS,^b high-priest and prince of the Jews, had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown, the fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa since the Babylonish captivity had done besides himself. The circumstances of the times seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew that the Romans were much inclined to authorise the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. With respect to his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he

^b Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3. A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106.

gave him at first a share in the government. He confined the other three in prison, and kept them there during his life.

^c When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority which his father had enjoyed, he entered into a war with the Ituræans; and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had compelled the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and thus were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shows, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, which was inhabited by the people in question, formed part of Cœle-syria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took advantage of this illness, to prejudice the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was imputed to him as a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself,

^c Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3. A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106.

and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving that, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was keenly affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in anguish and despair.

SECT. II. *Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years.*

SALOME,^d the wife of Aristobulus, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. ^eNo more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to Aristobulus the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this was passing, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each

^d Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3. A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105.

^e Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8.

other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest, in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a strong army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard on his return, he was beaten by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For since the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

* This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus.

Those two posts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of the Jordan; and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

† As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the

* A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.

† A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98.

governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. * His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as abandoned as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders which he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he let loose his soldiers with permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to a heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner.ⁱ At the feast of tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering the solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of "Slave;" a reproach which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was a consequence of what Eleazar had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected towards him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign

* A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21. A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.

troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, who attended him every where.

* When Alexander saw the storm which had been raised against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. † At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his late loss, that they should experience no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

‡ Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day. When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself

* A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94.

† A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

‡ A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

to intemperance and excess of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at the end of three years, after having reigned twenty-seven.

* He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECT. III. *Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Janneus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldest son is high-priest during that time.*

‡ ACCORDING to the advice of her husband, Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so, she acted only in conformity to the last will of her husband.

By this step she so well conciliated them, that, forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they had carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into respect and veneration for his memory; and instead of the invectives and reproaches which they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees was with them a substitute for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had

* A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. & de Bell. Jud. i. 4. A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.

never been ; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest : he was then near thirty-three years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them ; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one ; and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than by giving way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less evil, in order to prevent a greater.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right notion of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

^h The Pharisees still continued their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies under this pretext, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing that there was no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her

^h Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de Bell. Jud. i. 4. A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73.

second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and all the difficulties in which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present that, under her government, every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and they should see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of enquiries; or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to seek an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to take no steps without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer, and that therefore they never would accede to it. On the other side, the queen believed that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction, without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages resulting from that conduct: the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

* Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received there with open arms, and in fifteen days' time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people as well as the army were entirely inclined to declare for him, being weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to every one. They came therefore in crowds from all quarters to follow the standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his elder brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean capacity.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what was going forward, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of

* Baris, as hostages against himself. † But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris; his partizans took refuge in the temple. A short time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV. *Reign of Aristobulus II., which continued six years.*

† It was agreed by this accommodation, that Aristobulus should have the crown and high priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortune. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things. Thus he quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the time of the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased: these were occasioned by the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time that Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained an ascendant over Hyrcanus their elder son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown. ^k But when he

* Baris was a castle situate upon a high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

† A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 1. & de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

^k Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de Bell. Jud. i. 5. A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

saw all his measures defeated by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria.¹ He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to request that he would free them from the government of both the one and the other. They represented that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principal men of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity: that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the management of public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he (Aristobulus) had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 5.

them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than what his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust; but would not, however, pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart: he therefore politely dismissed the two brothers; and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and settle every thing.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly for Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a vigorous defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas till then had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submission. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, of which he made himself master. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprised till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. This was an extremely strong place, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him.

Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last acceded to the opinion of those about him, who, dreading a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so ; and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same visit two or three times, in hopes by that civility to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decide against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been offered him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of two different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complaisance to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. This was the cause of the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho ; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following Book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money : but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem,

he found the gates shut against him ; and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation and the works which had been made ; and had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed within it, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place ; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it, to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three whole months, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the Sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take advantage of this inaction upon the Sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, which carried along with it so great a part of the wall, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, the cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued

it with surprising calmness, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they were offering, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy, and worthy of being envied, if they had been as faithful to the spirit as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the holy of holies, into which, by the law, the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what most keenly afflicted the Jews, and enraged that people so bitterly against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, which consisted principally in sums that had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the GOD adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans, with respect to the only religion of the true GOD. They blasphemed what they knew not.

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† “Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledicta civitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat.” Cic. *pro Flac.* n. 67—69.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things; but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that the advantage gained over the Jews, was his last victory.

SECT. V. *Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years.*

* POMPEY having thus put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

† Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.^m He made great alterations in the civil government; for instead of monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical: but those innovations were but of short duration.

‡ Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents; that is to say, about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

^m Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 6.

* A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

† A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

‡ A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.

Cæsar,ⁿ after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinus was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient footing.

Antipater caused the^o government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasaël his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar,^p at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this same year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus,^q son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 8. A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47.

^o Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

^p Id. Antiq. xiv. 17. A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44.

^q Id. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 11. A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40.

side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasaël, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains into his hands. Phasaël, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall of his prison, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off: for, according to the Levitical law,^r it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. ^s He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the accession of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come; but some years afterwards he caused him to be put to death.

Herod had at first taken refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, to whose sister Mariamne he

^r Levit. xxi. 16—24.

^s Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter;

had for some time been betrothed, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon him, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give the crown to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He had employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

SECT. VI. *Reign of Antigonus, of only two years' duration.*

* It was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

† Herod, who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa. Whilst the works necessary for the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated

and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

* A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

† Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13. A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38.

his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles which had befallen him, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus the Second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that, by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than they, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

* The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And, to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the fatigue they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus, seeing all was lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph: but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as

* A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

that remnant of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money.^u He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of a hundred and twenty-nine years, reckoning from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; and had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprised of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: "The ^x sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." The sceptre, or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both), implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction

^u Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 405.

^x Gen. xlix. 10.

to denote the Messiah: the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published.*

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod, the Idumæan, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, began to be taken from it. This was an indication that the time of the Messiah's coming was not far off. The tribe of Judah has no longer the supremacy; it no longer subsists as a body, from which the magistrates are taken. It is manifest, therefore, that the Messiah is come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remnant of Judah. It was therefore before those times that the Messiah came.

How wonderful does GOD appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our subject? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. It was contrary to the laws, and even contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. But it had been decreed from all eternity,

* By F. Babuty, Rue St. Jacques.

that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of GOD not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrived there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing too hard for the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Upper Asia, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threescore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty-four years were before JESUS CHRIST, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacidæ. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæa. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before JESUS CHRIST, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere ^v what gave Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great; and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactriana revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

^v See Vol. VI. A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250.

* Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus,^z who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

† Antiochus, surnamed the Great,^a was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the^b king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the other revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

‡ PRIAPATIUS, the son of Arsaces II., succeeded his father; and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I., his eldest son.

|| Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit. In fact, he was one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

§ PHRAATES II., succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept

^z See Vol. VI.

^a Ibid.

^b The Abbé Longuerue, in his Latin Dissertation upon the Arsacidae, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatius. Justin says nothing of him.

* A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

† A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

‡ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

|| A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

§ A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

* ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was MITHRIDATES II., of whom Justin says, ^b that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as a hostage. † The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates king of Pontus in the war against the Romans.

‡ Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

§ It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given precedence to Sylla.

|| Demetrius Eucherus, ^c who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Beræa, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all possible honours. He died there of a disease.

¶ Mithridates II. died, ^d after having reigned forty

^b Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

^c Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

^d Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

* A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

† A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.

‡ A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

§ A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

|| A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

¶ A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensibly felt. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces which he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and, after him, SINATROCCES, kings, of whom scarcely any thing more is known than their names.

* PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed THE GOD.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory which the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote to him the letter which Sallust has preserved.

† Pompey having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

‡ After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes king of Armenia dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates, ^e expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but without effect. § He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not as a brother, causes

^e Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

* A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

† A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

‡ A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

§ A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.

him to be put to death; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

^f But he found enough to employ him abroad, that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, for the second time, with Pompey. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people whom he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he even burst out into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to be no longer the same man. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia. He flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like child's play in comparison with his. He had already over-run, in imagination, Bactriana and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, war against Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out, merely through wantonness, to make war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a chafing-dish full of fire before him; and as soon as Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them

^f Plut. in Crass. p. 552, 554. A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.

the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present shudder with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium; and, though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost many of his ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though far advanced in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect: "King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the *twelfth hour of the day." "And you, my lord," replied Dejotarus, "are not over early in setting out to make war against the Parthians." For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed[§] that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it well worth his while to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in the temple there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that purpose: this was known only to Eleazar, the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, in order to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred in the eyes of avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold;

[§] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

and, notwithstanding, plundered the rest of the treasures, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his route.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction of these treaties, nor of any other enterprise that could give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion; and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus, in consequence, was master of the field, and over-ran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities without resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, which were given by generals to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him a thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were all very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war,

was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without stopping, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commission in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, contrary to the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity on the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, who were rather shut up, than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons which Crassus had left in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia." Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing and showing him the palm of his hand: "Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than you will see Seleucia." The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

^h As soon as the season would permit, Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time during the winter to assemble a very great army to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his ar-

^h Plut. in Crass. p. 554. A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53,

rival there, retook several of the places of which Crassus had made himself master the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of an astonishing weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to guard.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who had imagined that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had so easily overthrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to undergo great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice than that of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six thousand horse, which were part of his guards; adding that, besides these, he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of

Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia: the reasons with which he enforced this advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian cavalry, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them: that if they took this route, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if they marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would fail, and he would have a powerful army in his front on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The advice was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable; but Crassus, blinded by Providence, who intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabasus, who was returning into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark: this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a military man. He says, that the Romans under Crassus "had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would have thought, that, condemned and persecuted by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste, therefore, to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men; that is to

say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops were passing the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them as well as he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluded his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, shortly returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes; and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to an engagement with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or, if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because, by always keeping on the banks of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthian cavalry to surround him; and that with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other

things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's quæstor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of complying with it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him, from this circumstance, admirably qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, fell into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands in which the army found itself engaged, in the midst of a vast country all bare and parched, where the eye could discover neither end nor boundary where the troops might hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as a hill, nor a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of

which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to maintain, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order that they might unite their forces against the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least, to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, inveighed against those that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia; I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabasus for his treachery."

Crassus was so infatuated with his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and went to give Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert and enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians was advancing with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; and he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all

sides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that, each part being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his son the younger Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however highly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover from the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they should attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the cavalry under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders that all who had occasion, should take their refreshment under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of

* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of five or six hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

battle than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most horrid noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other; and the noise made by these instruments was harsh and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing: that it strikes upon, and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner confused and distracted.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had thrown the Romans, were quite different when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he was painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the other Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of the hollow square so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broken. But the Romans were much astonished to see on a sudden their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those or-

ders long; for they were compelled by a shower of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay now began, when they experienced the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves on all sides to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, even though they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because as they drew their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, which were of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally; and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wisely conceived; since by flying they saved their lives, and by fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy there were camels laden with arrows, whither those who had exhausted their quivers wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen

hundred horse, five hundred archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand the charge of a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or whether they designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, "They don't stand us," pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered the stratagem; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and send out detachments of their light horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a mark for every arrow shot at them, and died by a slow but cruel death. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pain they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated through their veins and nerves, they

* These formed four or five thousand men.

only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pain.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they showed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and riveted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops with weak and short javelins struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, plunged and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was the heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which, running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened

their horses in the centre, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in a level spot, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation: whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground showing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows which the barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally struck by them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing thus miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so bad a condition; pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was at no great distance. But he replied, "that no fear of any death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died through love for him." A noble sentiment in a young nobleman! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners; and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were put to the rout, and were pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against

young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

At that very instant the Parthians, who were returning from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprised the wretched father of his misfortune. The barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, asked them of what family that young Roman was, and who were his relations; "For," said they, "it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus."

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, as might have been expected, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage on his disgrace than he had done before; and running through the ranks, he cried out, "Romans, this mournful spectacle concerns me alone. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish

their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without its costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to re-animate his troops; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas, that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given, the light-horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, overwhelmed them with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one compact body; except those who, to avoid the arrows, the wounds of which occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often pierced two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, when night came on the barbarians retired; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to their king Arsaces, to being dragged before him. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation that the next day

they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his own particular distress. For they all saw plainly that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured during the night to throw themselves into that immense plain of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But he lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater instance of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first and greatest of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him: but seeing him entirely depressed with the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, fill-

ed the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops who marched foremost were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up again in order of battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded, who followed them, upon the beasts of burden, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost considerable time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge which Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But early the next morning, they entered the camp, and put all the wounded who had been left there, to the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took great numbers of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the main body of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the

barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who with sword in hand fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with his best forces; and that those who had retired to Carræ were only a body of troops collected from all quarters, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it was or not, desired to be better informed, in order that he might resolve, either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore despatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: that this proposal was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius acceded to this offer, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Crassus should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place

from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such flagrant deceit, told Crassus that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know of this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians consequently were not long before they were fully apprised of the whole plan, by means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places intersected with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some who, suspecting that it was with no good design that Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches, he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains, called the *Sinnachian* mountains, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, while he was still embarrassed, by the contrivance of the perfidious

Andromachus, in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him.

He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to march in order to join the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachian* mountains, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences with a small number of soldiers to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the barbarians so roughly, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body till they were all dead round him fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and that if the night came on, and the Romans should gain the mountains, it would be impossible for him to take them, had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And, that their deeds might agree with their words, as

soon as the prisoners were released, the barbarians retired from the fight ; and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said, with a loud voice, that, contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms ; but that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed, on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it ; but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches : and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice ; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places where they then were, they might easily escape when night came on : he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and, by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him ; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and, turning about, he said only these few words : " Octavius,

and you, Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy them, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners; and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see?" said he: "What! the general of the Romans on foot, and ourselves on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "that there was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview, each after the *custom of his own country." "Very good," returned Surena; "from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans," added he, "do not always remember your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

him. Crassus would have sent for a horse ; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit ; and the king's officers taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards faster. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force who pressed close on Crassus. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great stroke with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those who were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others had retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery ; but as for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise, some went down and put themselves into the hands of the enemy ; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped ; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received since the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria ; and out of

these ruins another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat must, in one sense, have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy from her territory. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected and dreaded by all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa; lately victorious over one of the most formidable enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them tremble for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained over them some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown by them as sights. The prisoners* taken in that fatal day were kept there in

* " Milesne Crassi conjugē Barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis,

captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standards, of barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace. For themselves, they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront which Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius Severus, &c. The surname of Parthicus was the title of which they were fondest, and which most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Pælestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving by the false measures he had taken, that the Romans were infallibly lost, en-

Sub rege Medo, Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, et nominis, et togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma?"

tered into an accommodation with Orodes ; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent to the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight ; and it is said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, in mockery of the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous ; who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, where a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take the place of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. At thirty years of age he possessed consummate ability, and surpassed all the men of his time in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man ; and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for

* "Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse ; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur." *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv. c. 18.

his wives and concubines, and, for his guard, a thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

* The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

† The next year to the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity from Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates, in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who regulated every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a large body of the Parthian cavalry, which had

¹ Cic. ad famil. l. ii. Epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18. 20. 21. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.

* A. M. 3952. Ant. J. C. 52.

† A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51.

entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this success and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence; and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonía, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were compelled to retire. We are not to be surprised at this, as the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to engagements in the field, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprised of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who, being situated between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves^k free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they used perpetually to harass.

It is Cicero himself who acquaints us with these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince, or his ministry, an account of a

^k Eleuthero-Cilices.

military expedition ; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates ; it is the second of his fifteenth book of his familiar epistles ; the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a masterpiece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us, ¹ that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey ; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, evinces in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who from the lowest condition of ^m life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the

¹ Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

^m Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken when an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the influence of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and who had raised him through all the degrees of the service, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person till the time of Trajan that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and the only one who obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

Thatⁿ general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were far advanced, would get the start of him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interest of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means of drawing the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, the observed that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians designed to

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

pass the Euphrates not at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in consequence of the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon join him from Judæa, with the legions which were quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence; not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops from the top of the hill poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest

part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days, he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent character the house of the Arsacidæ had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all

* “ Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverit, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat.” JUSTIN.

the ascendancy she had over a mind impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined, however, to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldest, and also most vicious of them all. * He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner; and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel towards all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I HAVE spoken in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country^c of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whose dominion it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or

^c Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

* A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor: they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. * It is probable that it was about the time that Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia. Upon this supposition the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes; then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there had been many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

† ARIARATHES I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

‡ Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

§ ARIARATHES II.^d son of the former, had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed by the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous

^d Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

* A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

† A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

‡ A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

§ A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

defence. He had thirty thousand foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. After the death of his father, he escaped into Armenia.

* As soon as he was apprised of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment which other wars gave Antiochus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and reascended the throne of his ancestors.

† ARIAMNĒS, his eldest son, succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

‡ ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other § Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent the elder of the supposititious children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The legitimate son took the name

* A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

† A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

‡ A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.

§ He is so called by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

Ariarathes V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent^e ambassadors to Rome, to ask pardon of the senate, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the East, sent ambassadors to negotiate a treaty between those three princes; but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopater; for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him proofs of it by resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had the utmost affection and respect for a father who so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but one which aimed a mortal wound at so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and the more to be admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, in-

^e Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37 & 39.

ordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

^f **ARIARATHES VI.** surnamed Philopater, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. The refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended to be the brother of ^g Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest noblemen, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited four ^{*} hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers.

† Ariarathes found a more ready and more effectual protector in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usur-

^f Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865. A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162.

^g Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334 & 336.

^{*} Four hundred thousand crowns.

† A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

per, wished to compel the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whosoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had ^hretired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

ⁱ Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She would have treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mo-

^h Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

ⁱ Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

ther. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. ^k He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by her, **ARIARATHES VIII.** and **ARIARATHES IX.** His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recal Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin, who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him, with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years of age in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor.^l The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the oppression of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a disease on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years of age, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes,

^k Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1. A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

^l Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice, his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had had three sons by **ARIARATHES VII.** of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and, in order not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty. But there are nations to which the monarchical government is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I.^a This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and established there Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia, and placed a considerable number of them in the city of

^a Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla. A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

Tigranocerta. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

* **ARIOBARZANES II.** Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him on the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

^b **ARIOBARZANES III.** Cicero, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people; a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot: that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother; who it seems, had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the influence his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His † endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his resolution, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to seduce him. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one

* A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

^b Cic. Epist. 2. & 4. l. xv. ad Famil. & Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic. A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51.

† “Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat *ἔν τε παρόδῳ*, consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus *ἀπερὸς τὸν μέν*, non modo *ἀδελφοδίκων* τὸν, præbui regem, regnumque servavi.” Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

in Cappadocia and the other in the kingdom of Pontus.^c They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great influence, and so considerable, that the king alone was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of the temple of Comana. It was that which made the high-priest so powerful; and *in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain that he exacted very considerable sums of money from him; ^d for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through

^c Strab. l. xii. p. 535 & 557.

^d Cæsar de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

* “Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci ut e regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret.” Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. *ad Famil.*

Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother kept up no very good understanding with each other, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces, ^e he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

^f This mild treatment gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just distrust of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes the kingdom of Cappadocia fell to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana, in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-third book, and joined the Romans.^g He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He had obtained a very honourable dignity from Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. ^h The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference; and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes reascend-

^e Dio. l. xlii. p. 183.
Ant. J. C. 42.

^f Dio. l. xlvii. p. 346. A. M. 3962.

^g Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Dio. l. xxxix. p. 116.

^h Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675. A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41.

ed the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Antony expelled him, ⁱ and established Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, in his stead.

^k **ARCHELAUS.** That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, as to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

^l He assisted Tiberius to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis, near the coast of Cilicia; and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy: ^m but his latter years were unfortunate, and his misfortunes were the consequence of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him; * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their ag-

ⁱ Dio. l. xlix. p. 411. A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36.

^k Plut. in Anton. 944. A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

^l Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Dio. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Dio. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671, & l. xii. p. 556. A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20.

^m Dio. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 99. A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16.

* "Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commicatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit." PATERC. l. ii. c. 99.

grandizement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had need of repose for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. * During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not at a great distance from thence, residing generally at † Eleusis, paid him no honours forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. ‡ On the contrary, when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the East, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It would have been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as would have been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius § Atticus, who, during all the divisions with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew

* "Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebat, invisus Tiberio, quod cum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur." TACIT. *Annal.* l. ii. c. 42.

† Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. STRAB. l. xiv. p. 651.

‡ A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

§ "Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare poterit quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantam fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet." CORN. NEP. in *Attic.* c. xx.

how to render himself agreeable to the heads of both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. * He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and, without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The king † of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not to act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself shortly after proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him: but age, the gout, and, more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He reigned two and fifty years. After his death, Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Ma-

* A. M. 4020. An. Dom. 16.

† “ Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit.” *TACIT. Ann. l. ii. c. 42.*

zaca, ⁿa city situate at the foot of the mountain Argea, and which was governed by the laws of * Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo calls simply Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that inundation, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses, ^oand mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbidden to have any of them. It furnished also a great number of slaves [†]and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury, ^pthough the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; "Lend me your evidence, [‡]and I will pay you with mine."

ⁿ Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539.

^o Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11.

Schol. Persii.

^p Cic. pro Flac. n. 9, 10.

* This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

[†] *Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.* HORAT.

[‡] *Da mihi testimonium mutuum.*

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced, however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators ; and it became a proverb, that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

* Θᾶττον ἔην λευκοῦς κοράκας πτηνάσσι χελώνας
Εὐρεῖν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SYRACUSE.

THIS twenty-second Book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of **HIERO II.** The second, the short reign of his grandson **HIERONYMUS**, the troubles of Syracuse occasioned by it, with the siege and taking of that city by **MARCELLUS**. The third is a concise abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections on the government and character of the Syracusans, and on **ARCHIMEDES**.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. *Hiero the Second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punic war.*

HIERO II. ^a was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse. As his mother was a slave, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him

^a Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4. A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness. Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child derived from this education all the benefit that could be expected. He distinguished himself early above all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, tall stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation * he was affable and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing but the title of king, as he already possessed all the qualities that adorn that rank.

^b Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time very young, but displayed a prudence and maturity that gave promise of a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city; and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much mildness and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of choosing their officers, were, however, unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of captain-general.

From his first measures it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In fact, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of innovation,

^b Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9. A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

* "In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse, præter regnum, videretur." JUSTIN.

he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptines seemed very fit for that purpose, as being a man of integrity, and one who had great influence with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent, malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, as they were too well united amongst themselves; that, if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would not fail to provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate this factious body of troops, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal, and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country and security of his person, to proceed to this cruel and sad extremity, very contrary to his natural character, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines.* When he came

* They were originally troops from Campania, whom Agathocles

within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans; on the other, the mercenaries. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack; and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces, after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Mylæ. A great part of the enemies were left upon the field, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. *This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and allies afterwards gave to it. But can we suppose, that in such a conjuncture their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing of compulsion in that: if his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

* A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271.

had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large elsewhere.*

^c Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the straight without danger.

^d The Mamertines, partly through menaces, and partly through surprise, having driven out of the citadel the officer who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was warm. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

^e When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

^c Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4.

^d Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

^e Polyb. l. i. p. 15, 16. A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265.

* Vol. J. History of the Carthaginians.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what was likely to be the event of this new war. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between these two republics, whose strength was equal; and that as long as they should be contending, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, being masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them a hundred * talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero, constantly attached to the Romans, to whom he sent supplies when occasion required, reigned peaceably at Syracuse, as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. For more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against

* A hundred thousand crowns.

each other, he was so prudent and happy as to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which took all the neighbouring regions, whilst himself and his people retained a profound peace.

^f The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions at times when the Roman army, without his aid, would have been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about five-and-twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

^g Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince perceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no further obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revolvers.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles,

^f Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

^g Polyb. l. i. p. 84. A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.

who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions which ensued, had occasioned ; an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions ; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants ; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECT. II. *Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.*

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great aim was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from any design to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens and that of the soldiers ; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to

extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as, during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parent of all vices, and the usual source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to reflect honour upon agriculture, which he considered as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinite number of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce which is renewed every year, and which is the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty, to study and make himself thoroughly master of all the rules of agriculture. ^hHe even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss. But he considered that object of his enquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the princes's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic, to render the condition of the husbandmen, of whom the greatest part of

^h Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue rose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations which might possibly be attempted to be introduced in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed,* that all things should be disposed according to *the laws of Hiero*: in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws, and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose very name was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands, and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which is the mark of a wise prince and good economist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country people, who frequently consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temp-

* "Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret." CIC. *Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n. 15.

tation, he took such * just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be thrashed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. Cicero acquaints us with these circumstances, at much length. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's being drawn from his home upon any pretext whatsoever. In fact, says Cicero, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble by frequent and painful journeys, it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from the plough to the bar, and from the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits. ⁱ *Miserum atque iniquum, ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque judicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum persequatur?*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero in the opinion of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have loaded his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining of those victories have cost him! and of

ⁱ Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

* “ Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pœna, fraudare decumanum.” Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 20.

what emolument would they have been to the state? Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of the lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the real force and true riches of a state consist; and which can never fail to happen when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

^k It was in the second Punic war, that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him that, advanced in age as he was, he would show the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expense. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

^l Hiero's inviolable fidelity towards the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appeared still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymentus. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, when introduced to the senate, told them, "That Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted with their last disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person. That though

^k Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51. A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218.

^l Liv. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

he well knew, that the grandeur of the Roman people was almost more worthy of admiration in times of adversity, than after the most signal successes ; he had sent them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it. That they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperity. That they had also imported three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley ; and that if the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be transported to whatever places they should appoint. That he knew the Roman people employed none in their armies but citizens and allies ; but that he had seen light-armed strangers in their camp. That he had therefore sent them a thousand archers and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Baleares, and Moors of Hannibal's army."—They added to this aid a very salutary piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily, might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power by that diversion to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king's ambassadors in very obliging and honourable terms, " That Hiero acted like a very generous prince, and a most faithful ally : that from the time he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them had been constant and unalterable ; in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and magnificently succoured them : that the people had a due sense of such generosity : that some cities of Italy had already presented the Roman people with gold, who, after having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it : that the Victory was too favourable an augury not to be received : that they would place her in the Capi-

tol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting abode." All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus* makes an observation here upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans with three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the industrious precaution he uses to prevent them from refusing to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situate as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable, for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated over-against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing to it the empire of

* "Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ munceri misit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia sua uti cogeret: voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis." VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 8.

the sea, and establishing it firmly in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive stroke, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the less idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of more particular information concerning his actions.

^m The sum of a hundred talents (a hundred thousand crowns,) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and munificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended infinitely enhances the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public square at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people such magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give to himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus (*Idyll. 16.*) which bears the name of the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems tacitly to reproach that prince with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon

^m Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

ⁿ It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that concerned the public good; that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to profit by the advantage he possessed of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced: it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations on truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction for the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient influence over Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of those mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention, and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded

ⁿ Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

to demonstrate, "That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved." And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, chose out one of the galleys in the port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with numerous cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as steadily, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely astonished; and judging from that experiment of the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to form part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, (for the study of princes

ought to extend no farther in that point,) they esteem such as distinguish themselves by their learning, sometimes converse with them, and hold them in honour; and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add, with respect to those admirable machines of war which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shows how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstract ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not deviate, if I may so say, from this intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance; and other similar objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, that shot forth those brilliant lights, and wonderful discoveries, which display from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and inspired the Romans with astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn; a traffic in which almost the

whole wealth of the island consisted. ° We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, which weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a flight of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were apartments to the number of thirty; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the stern, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stones of different colours, representing stories taken from the *Iliad* of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all round to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus, with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues.

° Athen. l. v. p. 206—209.

In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sun-dial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great brazen coppers, and a bathing-vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held a hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these Atlases were at equal distances from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its size; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes: it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or a hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and masses of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron, to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings (*corvi*), which, being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a

machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Piræus. The *medimnus*, according to father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king * Ptolemy, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other transports of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two million of pounds) of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different clothes, without including the provisions for the ships' crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description which Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I could have wished, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

† Hiero's fidelity was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies.

But even the laying waste of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of shaking his resolution. ‡ He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread

* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

† A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216.

‡ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would * perhaps have occasioned great trouble in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. † He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. *Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the Princesses. Hippocrates and Epicydes possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians as Hieronymus had done.*

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young ‡ prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independence, and far from possessing strength to resist the seducing allurements of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the

* "Movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspiceret, armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset." LIV.

† A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

‡ "Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modice laturum." LIV.

thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with all their influence; from the hope that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who were to hold the first rank amongst his guardians.* It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind in the midst of their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king dying after these arrangements, the guardians whom he had appointed for his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their recent loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His † funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranodorus's first care was to remove all the other

* "Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumssesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privata curam." LIV.

† "Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam cura, suorum celebre." LIV.

guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranodorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The wisest arrangements made by princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The * best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. While neither Hiero, nor Gelon his son, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any outward ornaments, Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the † rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage: a visible contempt for all the world, haughtiness and disdain in hearing, an affectation of saying disobliging things, so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of excess; a cruelty so enormous, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him: this odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves

* "*Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent, ostendit.*" LIV.

† "*Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas.*" LIV.

to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranodorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He paid little more notice to them than to others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes which were frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the torture, he confessed the crime as far as it regarded himself: but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himself, so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, and such was his fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partisans of Carthage. Hieronymus despatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Hime-

ra, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, puffed up by the praises of his flatterers, even demanded, some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things respecting it; that he was happy in an opportunity of knowing the truth from their mouths, that he might thence determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambassadors seriously, and with respect; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

We here evidently see the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms that the security of a prince consists, but in the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take

precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people: and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths, but hearts, were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct than violence, who regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led the most wretched life in the world, if to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror can be called living. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

^aAppius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither,* who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of liberty, by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left, without interment, the

^a Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

* A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214.

body of that prince, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranodorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it, putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by showing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day, at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was holden, which had neither assembled nor been consulted upon any affair since Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "That having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them; but that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves: that he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them, till the last extremity: that at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranodorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the Isle, and withdraw his garrisons: that if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him: whether it were that he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or whether the best fortified part of the Isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss

gave him just apprehensions. But his wife Demarata,* Hiero's daughter, a haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, "That it was never proper to quit the saddle (i. e. the tyranny) till pulled off the horse by the heels: that a great fortune might be renounced in a moment; but that it would cost abundance of time and pains to attain it: that it was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time; and whilst he amused the senate by ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it would be easy to bring over to his interest by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to follow it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the Isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had entertained of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis; "You have done," said he, "a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained its highest pitch. If you do not take care to establish peace and union among the citizens, the state is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty." After this discourse, he laid the keys of the Isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of

* "Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatoris Dionysii tyranni vocis: quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere."

people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst whom Andranodorus was elected one of the first, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him, to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them an opportunity of insinuating themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and of setting them against the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranodorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranodorus and Themistus were immediately killed, by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths;

but were deterred from it by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who, being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name: that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him: that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and induced them to aspire to the tyranny: that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy: that neither favours and honours had been capable of overcoming the wicked disposition of Andranodorus; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty: that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At those words the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without suffering any vestige to remain. *Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or domineers with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it; and finds but too many flatterers always ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself; as was the case at this time. At the request

* "*Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur: libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritent.*" LIV.

of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata the daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranodorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprised that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most retired part of her house, near her household gods. There when the assassins arrived, with her hair loose and dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus. She represented to them, that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: that not having had any share in the fortunes and criminal designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear, either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting what concerned herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age which inspires the most inveterate and furious of enemies with compassion: but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her in the sight of her two daughters, and soon

after murdered them also, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order from the people came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranodorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of re-instating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office. For, immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance which had been broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper

to summon the assembly of the people. In this meeting the opinions differed very much ; and the heat of the debate giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the present situation of affairs. He intimated, “ that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actually was at that time : that if they all with unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy : that if they were divided, the war would neither be more warm nor more dangerous between the Romans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracusans themselves against each other, as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own troops, armies, and generals : that it was therefore absolutely requisite to make agreement and union amongst themselves their sole care and application ; and that to know which of the two alliances was to be preferred, was not now the most important question : nevertheless, with respect to the choice of allies, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to prevail over that of Hieronymus ; and that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced for fifty years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they could not much rely for the present, and with which they had had little reason to be satisfied formerly.” He added a last motive of no mean force, which was, “ that in declaring against the Romans, they would have a war immediately upon their hands, which the Carthaginians were not able to carry on against them immediately.”

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state ; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for ridding the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their leaders, who were no less dangerous. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for this opportunity which they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicycles ; who, having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. When therefore the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, who were the authors of them, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicycles fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword ; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them an account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they took no steps to ascertain, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

In the mean time, the army continued its march towards Megara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes,

who related the storming of Leontium conformably to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were made free, the prisoners set at liberty, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short glimpse of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECT. II. *The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him.*

‘ AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land; * by land, on the side of the Hexapylum; and by sea, on that of the Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

† Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518. A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214.

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehensive that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of one single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could withstand their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance; which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; and having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up

and set upon its stern, and held so for some time ; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again, with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Galleys frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom with their crew.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expense, machines called *sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that purpose, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of the two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks ; and upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the stern drew it up by the help of the pulleys ; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The galleys afterwards being brought forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *sambuca* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge,) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten *

* The quintal, which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed a hundred and twenty-five pounds ; the largest more than twelve hundred.

quintals, then a second, and immediately after a third; all of which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances, a proportionate quantity of darts and ends of beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed * scorpions, which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by their effect.

When the Romans had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads, there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed to some distance, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beaten to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security be-

* The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, with which the ancients used to discharge darts and stones.

hind the walls; so that the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality against the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear jesting upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucas so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for complaining of Archimedes alone. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, that they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them, either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, except indeed the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence checks and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius and profound knowledge; I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss would Syracuse have sustained, if to have saved a small expense and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiero was careful not to act in this manner. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He paid it due honour; he made it useful; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so: it would then have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very arms of peace,* he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest friendship. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines, of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There are amongst these machines, some of which we can scarce conceive the effects, and the reality of which we might be tempted to call in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such for instance as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated on facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse to give credit to the uniform consent of Greek and Roman historians, whether friends or enemies, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were

* *In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.* HORAT.
And wise in peace prepared the arms of war.

witnesses, and experienced the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse shews how far the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if indeed they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition, without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

^s After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two-thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of re-conquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what had passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it.

^s Liv. l. xxiv. n. 35, 56. A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213.

This is the conjecture of Mr Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public will be well pleased. The first volume of the said work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. On his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse; and having sent off Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Q. Crispinus into his place.

^t In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or by famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But, before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, through resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

^t Liv. l. xxv. n. 23, 31. Plut. in Marcel. 308, 309. A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

This enterprise having thus miscarried, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip, king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thought to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, would begin to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first had got to the top without noise or tumult, others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of the Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolæ.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered* the new city, by the quarter called Tyche. Epicydes having hastily drawn up some troops, which he had in the Isle, which was adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus: but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish he shut himself up in Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. As to himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had formerly been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent being harassed in his rear, he then at-

* The new city, or Neapolis, was Epipolæ, which in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

tacked a fort called Euryelus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, and placed therein a strong garrison, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great harbour, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicydes at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the heat of the season, and the unwholesomeness of the soil: but afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the first breaking out of the

disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade were of great relief to them; but, notwithstanding, he lost no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, in the mean time, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring a new supply, returned with a hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle, as soon as the weather would permit. Marcellus, seeing that the troops of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he staid, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood out to sea, in order to double the cape; but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with the design of awaiting the event of the siege in that place, than of making any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions on which Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings, should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After

these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those to whom Epicydes had intrusted the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, "That whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to them: that if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the Syracusans: that it was not till after they had been apprised of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms, and begun the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants: that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of fidelity towards them, were still alive? That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but from themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans: that they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every

body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies; the latter of whom were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressing himself to Marcellus to this effect: "It was not the people of Syracuse who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still towards Rome than towards his country; and afterwards, when peace was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. They were the enemies who have made war against you, after having made us slaves, either by violence or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said that we have had any times of liberty, that have not also been times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we are become masters of ourselves by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, we come that very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For the rest," continued he, addressing himself still to Marcellus, "your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved worthy of being recorded, either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make known the greatness and strength of the city you have taken; posterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should show to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting and eternal monument of the valour and clemency of him who took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more

weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy. Permit me to say, you have experienced the good effects of the amity of Hiero; but the senseless enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put to the sword all they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the Isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, that it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies who had been sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in the Isle, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: means were found to corrupt him. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers, sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack on the Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the Isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to enable some vessels he had prepared to throw troops into the Isle, which would be unguarded. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the Isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates, by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus, still open, they took

possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the Isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all the gates of Achradina to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him, with instructions to demand nothing farther from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: "That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman people more good, than those who had been masters of Syracuse some years past had intended to do them harm; but their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and they had punished themselves for their violation of treaties in a more severe manner than the Romans could have desired: that he had besieged Syracuse during three years, not that the Roman people might reduce it into slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolters from continuing to hold it under oppression: that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege: but that he thought he had made himself ample amends, by the glory of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve." After having placed a body of troops to secure the treasury, and safeguards in the houses of the Syracusans who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confusion

at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who has no regard for what is passing in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul, were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who neither cared for his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword, and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected to him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. *Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, than a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere, that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the proportion which those two solids—the containing and the contained—have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved,

and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery—a geometrical demonstration—than upon all the so much celebrated machines which he had invented.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour in the eyes of posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgotten by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is Cicero who informs us of this circumstance.

^u At the time he was quæstor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity worthy a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, * "That he had found what he had looked for." The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, and a passage opened to the column, on which they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines

^u Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64, 66.

* *Ευρηκα*, adopting an expression of Archimedes.

were obliterated by time. * So that, says Cicero, in concluding this account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the study of the sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country which it considered almost as barbarous, a man of Arpinum, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by the force and penetration of his mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot easily pardon him for the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue and abounding with wisdom, he says, † “ I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his dust, ‡ and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand.” I say nothing of the birth of Archimedes; his greatness was of a different class. But ought the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, be treated by Cicero as a little and obscure person, as if he had been only a common artificer employed in making machines? unless it be, perhaps, that the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained

* “ Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.”

† “ Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe HUMILEM HOMUNICIONEM a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedes.”

‡ He means the dust used by geometricians.

much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

*Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

VIRG. ÆN. 6.

Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face ;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend and when they rise ;
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way.

DRYDEN.

* This is the Abbé Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECT. II. *Summary of the History of Syracuse.*

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy extending between the two seas, composed what was called Magna Græcia, in opposition to Greece, properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

* Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Architas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The first two ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore I pass over them in silence. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government ; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

* Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. II.

* A. M. 3295.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed into different books, I have thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shown together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

*GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greek who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side, I suppose, with † Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed many human victims.

‡ Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. See Vols. I. & III.

|| HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar vied with each other in celebrating him. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. See Vol. III.

§ THRASYBULUS. Thrasybulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. See Vol. III.

* A. M. 3520.

† In the history of the Carthaginians.

‡ A. M. 3525.

|| A. M. 3532.

§ A. M. 3543.

Times of Liberty.

* After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

† During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse: this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen in Vol. III.

‡ DIONYSIUS *the elder*. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. See Vols. I. & IV.

|| Dionysius *the younger*. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who had come to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long profit from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

§ Besieged by Dion, he escapes from the citadel, and retires into Italy.

¶ Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

** Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

* A. M. 3544.

† A. M. 3598.

§ A. M. 3644.

** A. M. 3647.

† A. M. 3588.

|| A. M. 3632.

¶ A. M. 3646.

* Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of those troubles, re-ascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

† At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. See Vols. I. & IV.

Times of Liberty.

‡ Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. See Vol. IV.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

|| AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. See Vol. I.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events, he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times of Liberty.

§ Syracuse revived again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

¶¶ She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first gave them great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus by a sudden retreat plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. See Vol. I.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

* A. M. 3654.

† A. M. 3658.

§ A. M. 3713.

† A. M. 3657.

|| A. M. 3685.

¶¶ A. M. 3726.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them: but those wars were unproductive of any event of consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province ever since the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty, Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans; and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the Government and Character of the Syracusans.*

By the taking of Syracuse, all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victors, and punishment of the vanquished: *Quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pœna belli*. Sicily, in submitting to the * Roman people, retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the

* “*Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent qua suis antea paruissent.*” CIC.

† “*Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata: prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset, exteris gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthagini tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes sig-*

first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of step for their troops to pass over into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself bound to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people who were so highly gratified with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, as well acquainted as he with the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon the subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of the sentiments he is going to express, he says: "In all* the employments with which the Ro-

nis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret." Cic. *Verr.* 3. n. 2, 3.

* "O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestra populi que R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cu-

man people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity not as a gift conferred upon me, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office in Sicily, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world: and in this thought, I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those which are authorised by nature and necessity. I am now intended for ædile. I call the gods to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more solicitude and disquiet, than joy and pleasure, from it; so much do I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up, but confided deservedly by the choice and discernment of my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, only to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through

piditibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum solitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur." *Cic. Verr.* 7. n. 35—37.

* "Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et securæ, et tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse." *Cic. Verr.* n. 39.

all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, nor even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, must have appeared like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions; sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either curb or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsive and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the object of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes, and vicissitudes so contrary, to be attributed? Undoubtedly, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what, I am convinced, conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of an aristocracy and a democracy; that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to balance those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion, at such times, of all orders of the state, made the way to sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the

citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and affability; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were, besides, other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victories and the terror of its arms even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good-nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, of which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and, I might say, even phrensy. On the contrary, when they were subjected

to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and grovelling like slaves. But as this condition was constrained, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, but merely lulled asleep, they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With the slightest attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans,) that * they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

* "Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem." *Tacit. Hist.* l. i. c. 16.

BOOK THE TWENTY-THIRD.

THE
HISTORY
OF
PONTUS.

SECT. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years of age, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their Kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia Minor and Greece, and had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the Generals of Mithridates. He grants that Prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it be carried to Rome.*

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history I am now beginning to relate, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He was descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabazus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But besides that we do not find the name of Artabazus

amongst those seven Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we are treating in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

* He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. † He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the sequel corresponded but too well with such a beginning. ‡ Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity against them.

† Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who was apprehensive that this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for acting such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and

† Memnon in excerptis Photii, c. xxxii.

‡ Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178.

* A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

† A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

support, by her presence, the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned; and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext assigned for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commission the following year;* and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp, deputed from king Arsaces,† to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, when he received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy for having acquiesced in this instance of Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any intercourse with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he engaged in cultivating powerful alliances for the augmentation of his strength; and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very

* A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

† This was Mithridates II.

powerful prince. ^a Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards; and upon the death of Alexander made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, was descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his projects against the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

* The first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happening to die about this time; his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near

^a Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

home. At length, however, Nicomedes, urged both by the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and by his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerable sums for the same purpose, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, as he had a great number of good troops on foot ; but he did not take the field. He was glad to throw the blame on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied, and made complaints on their side against Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms ; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to renew his complaints against them. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should be umpire in the affair ; and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders ; nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with

fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to procure it for himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates was immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not to continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived: which was what Mithridates wished. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interest. Amongst his troops were reckoned twenty-two nations, of as many different languages, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; without including a hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

^b Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a * long discourse to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, "That the matter now in hand was not to examine whether war or peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking the first, had left them no room for deliberation: that their business was to fight and conquer: that he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shown upon so many occasions, and very lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and cut to pieces in Bithynia and

^b Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3—7.

* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

Cappadocia: that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the very heart of Italy: when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany overran all Italy: that the time was come for humbling those proud republicans, who were hostile to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe: that as to what remained,* the war his soldiers were now entering upon was highly different from that they had sustained with so much valour in the horrid deserts and frozen regions of Scythia: that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country of the world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey: that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-gatherers, and the flagrant injustice of corrupt judges, held the name of Roman in abhorrence, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers: that they followed him not so much to a war, as to assured victory and certain spoils." The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by L. Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second, by Ma-

* "Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cœlo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeò illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium." JUSTIN.—*Sectio publicanorum* in this passage properly signifies, the forcible sale of the goods of those who, for default of payment of taxes and imposts, had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans. *Calumniæ litium* are the unjust quirks and chicanery, which served as pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour.

nus Aquilius ; the third, by Q. Oppius, proconsul, in his province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting for orders from Rome ; and carried it on with so much negligence and so little judgment, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he caused molten lead to be poured down his throat, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

^c Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, and applied to him all the other names by which Bacchus was denominated ; to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his time ^d who could drink most without being dis-

^c Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 401. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. n. 60.

^d Plut. Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

ordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of these his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

^e Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed.* The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those who were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this dreadful order is enough to make one shudder with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution! Fourscore thousand Romans or Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

^f Being informed that there was a great treasure at

^e Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7. A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88.

^f Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

* "Is uno die tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque de-notavit." Cic.

Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns,) which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there when they saw the war ready to break out.

^g All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

^h When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to secure to himself the supreme authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

* Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece, with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Perga-

^g Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

^h Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

* A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

mus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when, the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering them, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But, being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expense, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broken and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the beautiful avenues of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest walks in the suburbs, and planted with the finest trees; and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and endeavoured to attach the soldiers to his in-

terests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphi, "That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphi, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphi, he was afraid, through reverence for the god, to meddle with the consecrated gifts, and bewailed with tears, in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was willing to take advantage of that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what had happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "That he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, notices the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no other views from their employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were steady, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their

* Ἀυτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοὶ, καὶ ταῖς δαπαναῖς ἐντελεῖς ὄντες.

sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expense in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege in which he had engaged, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both with respect to his honour and even his safety. He was desirous of depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, would destroy all hopes of conquering that prince, and oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled, by the keen raillery which Aristion vented every day against him and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What did them most damage, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves who were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman interest, or desirous of providing for their own safety in case the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that was going forward within, and threw them from

slings to the Romans. So that how prudent soever the measures were which Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, none of them succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "To-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, which was in want of every thing. Upon advice of the same kind, the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disappointments, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the wall, or by undermining them, to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground; and, having propped the foundation with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides, but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place of the other which had fallen, and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds sterling). The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of their shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of

the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in revelling. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with a shower of arrows, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, "Gentlemen orators, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, some spies, having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking in the * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily take the city by escalade. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and, having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were very few in number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much

* A public square at Athens.

reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

ⁱ This year upon which we are now entering, was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxiles, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with sithes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very prudent conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at one view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and innumerable troops; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were truly terrible. The brightness of their arms, magnificently adorned with

ⁱ Plut. in Sylla, p. 461—466. Appian. p. 196—203. A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, darted forth, as it were, flashes of lightning, which, whilst it dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their entrenchments. Sylla not being able, by his discourse and remonstrances, to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present state of discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and straggled to a considerable distance, even several days' journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the utmost despair when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the Cephissus, a little river which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large trenches, under pretence of their better security, but in fact, that by being tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time; but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Chæroneæ. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: it was

the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was well calculated to check their motions. Two men of Chæroneæ came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops, which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left, supported Murena, whilst Galba on the right did the same for Sylla. The barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Chæroneæ, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, showed themselves on a sudden. The barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and closely pursued them down the hill sword in hand; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those who escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed in order of battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted and made a great slaughter of them: the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, taking advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and charged over the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them

useless and ineffectual. This the barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans, easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two main bodies came to blows. The barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broken; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand thrust aside the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted them amongst the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battalions were so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and a shower of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse quickly to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, which had not yet been engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what was going forward, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing, which would now be without its general.

Taxiles, at the same time, led on his foot,* armed with brazen shields, against Murena; whilst each side raised great shouts, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted at the noise, not knowing well to which side he should first hasten. At length he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But, as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxiles, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed on the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of so many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

† To celebrate so great a victory, he gave music-games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius and Jupiter Olympius; and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus, of the adverse party, (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest,) had been elected consul, and had

* Chalcaspidēs.

† A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85.

already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began without delay his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived at the city of * Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus had arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Bœotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have dissuaded him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon discovered, that the advice that had been given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused ditches to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, in which their cavalry could act, and to remove them towards the marshes. The barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and, seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." They could not endure those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches,

* In Thessaly.

and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely that he put them to flight. These runaways threw the troops who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those who fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But, from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

ⁱ He was not more successful in Asia himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place in the Troad. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But, as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who was cruizing in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other; so that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost

ⁱ Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

them very dear, and is not unusual in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards twice defeated Mithridates's fleet, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected that Lucullus would distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journeys, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he had left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.* Let our young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner great men are formed.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the most worthy and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's

* "Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilis, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæsturæ diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpserat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsissit, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis." *Cic. Acad. Quæst.* l. vi. n. 2.

camp, as to a port of safety ; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account that his enemies had burnt his house and ravaged his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief ; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel embarrassment, a merchant came to him to treat with him in secret from the general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the sea-coast, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who was not ignorant how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to re-pass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates ; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, to maintain a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government ; and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected such a proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself affronted by the supposition of his being capable of such treachery. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of

grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him : “ If, being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a barbarian king, you look upon it as base to quit the service of your master, how dared you to propose the abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as myself? Do you imagine our condition and the state of affairs between us to be equal? Have you forgotten my victories? Do you not remember, that you are the same Archelaus whom I have defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of Orchomenus?”

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions : “ That Mithridates should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia : that he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes : that he should pay the Romans two thousand talents (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling) for the expenses of the war, and deliver up to them seventy armed galleys, with their whole equipment ; and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.” Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions, and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates’s ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia ; and that as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone : “ What say you? Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, if I should have only left him the hand with

which he butchered a hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note when I go over to Asia, though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand, at the same time, that he would not talk such language had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that he would induce Mithridates to consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

* Archelaus, upon his return, joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention has been made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, was advancing by great marches against Mithridates; and this it was which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of the Troad. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes: and Sylla had only four cohorts and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ra-

tify the conditions which Archelaus had laid before him? Mithridates, surprised at the haughtiness and pride of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces, and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, reembarked.

Sylla saw plainly that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused a hundred thousand Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia, to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, whilst almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than a hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and, having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, compelled him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. * But what has been most admired in Sylla is, that, during three years,

* “*Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicissit, superaret quod erat domesticum.*” *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 24.

whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them; and yet did not discontinue the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He has been also highly praised for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira, in Lydia; and, having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers coming out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand * talents, and besides that fine, rifled individuals exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion, as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered on him four drachmas † a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty ‡ drachmas, and besides that, a robe to wear in the house, and another when he went abroad.

^k After having thus punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræus. Having been initiated in the great

^k Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. vii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

* About three millions sterling.

† About two shillings.

‡ About five-and-twenty shillings.

mysteries, he took for his own use the library of *Apellicon*, in which were the works of *Aristotle*. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to *Theophrastus*, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to *Neleus* of *Scepsis*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus* in *Asia*; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of *Pergamus* began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of *Scepsis* was dependent upon them, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost a hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of *Neleus's* family, who after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell to *Apellicon*, a rich *Athenian*, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had laid, *Apellicon* had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works which have ever since exercised the learned world. *Apellicon* being dead some short time before *Sylla's* arrival at *Athens*, he seized upon his library, and with these works of *Aristotle*, which he found in it, enriched his own at *Rome*. A famous grammarian of those times, named *Tyrannion*, who lived then at *Rome*, having a great desire for these works of *Aristotle*, obtained permission from *Sylla's* librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to *Andronicus*, the *Rhodian*, who afterwards imparted it to the public, and to him the world is obliged for the works of that great philosopher.

SECT. II. *Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years' duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus the consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes, his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.*

¹ SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates, being returned into Pontus, turned his arms against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining this conduct was the result of his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to excite, and to what a height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. And, in fact, he had not restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect

¹ Appian. p. 213—216. A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83.

Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence, he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

* There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But, as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion; and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and, having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

† Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be molested, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates having put one of his sons, only four years old, into the hands of Ariobarzanes, as a hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising, no doubt, to restore them in time. He then gave a

* A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.

† A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

great feast, in which he promised prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying: fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which he had no great claim.

* Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, being compelled so to do by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

^m The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who was giving the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, would never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius; to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of

* A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.

^m Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581. A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76.

Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, that he should accept that prince's offers with joy; and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he would not even desire a victory over his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And, having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer his master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and to which the Romans could have no just pretensions; but he would never consent that he should set his foot in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect: that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius * three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia, was one of

* About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

those banished senators of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as if he had been authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes which Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received that favour, and to him they were indebted for it. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name alone of Sertorius made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

ⁿ Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that, after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

^o Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allure-ment of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and trained, than

ⁿ Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175. A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75.

^o Plut. in Lucul. p. 496.

magnificently adorned; assembled a hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides a hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer, as before, with gilt flags, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive; and provided immense sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

* The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other, Bithynia and Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in repressing the rapaciousness and violence of the tax-gatherers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus was approaching, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other

* A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

relief than what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he would always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than all his most splendid victories.

^P Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of the Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous to him, by giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided into ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither; and began by seizing a post upon an eminence which was of the highest importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood.

It was in this that he placed his glory; for the lives of the soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand different obstacles which they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that, if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, they might assure themselves that the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that, without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer extremely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced^d them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. Mithridates,* who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not yet have had much experience, should so often have deceived him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent

* "Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta et revulsa tota pateret provincia: perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur." *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur.* n. 33. A. M. 3932. Ant. J. C. 72.

almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and, having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It is said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, either soldiers and servants, or other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours which he derived from that success, he made a rapid march along the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet, * beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in these two engagements; and in the last took their three generals, one of whom was M. Marius, the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself, and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the

* “ Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam.” CICERO. *pro lege Manil.* n. 21.

“ Quid? illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris?” CICERO. *pro Murena*, n. 33.

continent ; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia ; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so greatly from a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But, upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for * only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by a tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion which he had clearly foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities in the country, very near each other.

The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates ; this place was his usual residence, and he had designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not content with these two sieges at once, Lucullus sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification : " That is directly what I want ; I act designedly thus, that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army as may embolden him

* Seven-pence.

to wait for us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense wildernesses, and infinite deserts, in which it will be impossible for us either to pursue or come up with him? Armenia is but a few days' march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us? Hence, in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why, therefore, should we serve Mithridates against ourselves; or show him to whom he should have recourse for the means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him, against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy his valour and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take courage and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than to expose ourselves to have the additional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend with?"

* Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him whom we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very fa-

vourable light. * “ He went into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he did many great actions without the general, the general none without him.” Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabi-ræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly, without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till after some time, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got off his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands; and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice alone of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says † Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea, in the same kingdom of Pontus, formerly escaped the pursuit of her father. That princess is said to have cut in pieces the body of Absyrtus, her brother, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would

* “ *Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator.*” Cic. *pro Murena*, n. 20.

† “ *Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mærorumque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum conghesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mæror, nos lætitia retardavit.*” Cic. *de lege Manil.* n. 22.

give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates, in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance than a new life to them. In one of these castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was to her a great instance of good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably; Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her prudence than her beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgotten nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: he sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara, or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with the wishes of her family, who were dazzled with the splendour of a crown and the power of Mithridates, who was at that

time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From the time of her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, which, instead of a husband, had given her a master, and instead of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, "Ah, fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!" Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her throat to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she took a cup of poison; and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that poison sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, for that, being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgotten them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the

indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but, having received advice that he was four days' journey before him, and had taken the road to Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law Tigranes, he returned directly; and, after having subjected some of the nations, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. * Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A shower of rain, which then happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers held under the most dreadful oppression: insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And, when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest of their arrears, they were given up without mercy to their cre-

* A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

ditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand * talents which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over : but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to a hundred and twenty thousand † talents ; so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus ‡ had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition ; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to be credited.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent.* hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarium fœnus* ; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent.* was paid : *Uncia* is the twelfth part of a whole.

¶ The § law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve *per cent.* This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

¶ Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome, *semunciarium fœnus*.

¶ At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree : *Ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. || Avarice was always too strong for the laws ; and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of

¶ Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.

¶ Liv. l. vii. n. 27.

¶ Ibid. n. 42.

* About three millions sterling.

† About eighteen millions sterling.

‡ " Sane vetus urbi fœnebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa." Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

§ " Nequis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto."

|| " Multis plebiscitis obviam itum fraudibus : quæ toties repressæ miras per artes rursum oriebantur." Tacit. *ibid.*

the republic, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition on this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate; because, God having forbidden any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and give birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, exerted himself in procuring for the provinces of Asia some relaxation; which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured; and by the force of money animated many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that Prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.*

* TIGRANES, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly

* Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. xlvi. —lvii. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228—232. A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

surnamed *king of kings*. After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of the great Seleucus ; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians called Scenites ; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador a higher idea of the royal dignity ; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his natural disposition with that which particularly characterized his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaint which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it, he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph ; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates ; and that, in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule than his own will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings at-

tending him; two on foot on each side of his horse, when he went abroad; at table, in his chamber; in short, every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For, at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character should bear with impatience the manner in which Clodius spoke to him. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard during the five-and-twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra, his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment, he directed his answer only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any other commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported the result of his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities. ^u Cotta did not treat Heraclæa, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with ex-

^u Memn. c. li.—lxi.

cessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But, soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the flagrant excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person who brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he should see the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not strong enough to bear great prosperity without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes, at first, had not designed so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. * But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered

* A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunate persons was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much influence with Mithridates, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him: "And you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, with respect to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity, "As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprised of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus was continually advancing against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the matter had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission.

This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops through

out his whole dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king: for this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, in the strongest terms, to advise him not to hazard a battle, and to make use of his cavalry alone in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxiles himself was sent by him with the same instructions; who, staying with him in his camp, earnestly entreated him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when all his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to engage with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman

generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had twenty thousand archers or slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, a hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides pioneers to clear the roads, build bridges, clear and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers of the same description necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who being drawn up in battle array behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers or slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with matter for pleasantries. Some openly jested upon them : others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils ; and of all Tigranes's generals, and all the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to intrust that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a delicate rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired : " If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many ; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that it turned off short to the left towards the west, where it

was easily fordable. Lucullus, in order to lead his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxiles, told him, with a contemptuous laugh—"Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away." Taxiles replied; "I heartily wish your majesty's good fortune may this day work a miracle in your favour; but the arms and motions of those legions do not indicate people running away."

Taxiles was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legion move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, "How! Are those people coming to us?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle, without much disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because it was one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of *Cepio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: "And I, for my part, will make this a happy day for the Romans."

It was the sixth day of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a

* The Greek text says, "the army of Scipio," which Monsieur de Thou justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, "the army of Cepio."

steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms, bordered all round with fringe. He brandished his naked sword in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to close immediately with an enemy who were accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, the summit of which was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first glance what use was to be made of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, and when they had not room to use these, they could do nothing either against the enemy or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he showed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "The victory is ours, fellow-soldiers! the victory is ours!" At the same time, with his two cohorts, he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make use of their pikes, but close with the troopers sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight;

and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses upon the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour to fly; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so pompous and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping; and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: on the side of the Romans only five were killed, and a hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For, by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined that Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes as he had done against himself;

so that he marched but slowly and by small days' journeys to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number of fugitives naked and wounded, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him, at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting him in his misfortunes, as Tigranes had done to him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgrace, gave him the guard which attended, and the officers who served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes; so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together engaged in raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the barbarians, and being determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city; and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, beside other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling). Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred drachmas,* which, with all the booty they had taken, was not sufficient to satisfy their inordinate avidity.

* As this city had been peopled by colonies which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great numbers, that from one of the greatest cities in the

* Strab. l. xi. p. 532, & l. xii. p. 539.

* About twenty pounds.

world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

⁂ If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war would have been at an end. His having failed to do so was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and to turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to the pursuit of Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present extremity. Mithridates wrote a letter

to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and which is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to *Arsaces King of the Parthians.*

“ALL those † who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider, whether peace be at their own option; and next, whether what is demanded of them is consistent with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war, and undeterred by any crimes. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire the highest reputation. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes, or that you, powerful as you are, should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare assert, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, if you judge rightly, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty, whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, I can say, that fortune,

* Arsaces was a name common to all the kings of Parthia.

† “Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod quæritur, satisne pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetua pace frui liceret nisi hostes opportuni et scelestissimi. Egregia fama, si Romanos opprresseris, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, et frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis misceri sperem. Atqui ea, quæ te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, et meæ res parum prosperæ, si vera æstumare voles, maxime hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene suadendi, et quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus præbeo exemplum, quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una et ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii et divitiarum.”

by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsels, and, which is much to be desired by persons in prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself, it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, that the Romans are at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands: the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings whom they had reduced one after another, and often by means of one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: "Examine now,* I beg you, whether, when we are finally ruined, you will be better able to resist the Romans, or can believe that they will confine their

* "Nunc quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrum firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, et auri esse; et ea re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterum consilium est Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam a principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Convenas, olim sine patria, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, procul juxtaque sitos, inopes, potentesque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non serva, et maxime regna, hostilia ducant. Namque, pauci libertatem, pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, et in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu vero, cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, et postea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus spolia maxima sunt. Audendo et fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia, aut occidunt: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamia, nos Armenia, circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie nostra unum imperium prolatare, quam societate victor fieri."

conquests to my country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and treasure: it is for that reason we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intention of Tigranes to avoid drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean in the west, turned their arms this way? That to look back to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have from violence: home, wives, lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, without forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon as enemies all that are not their slaves; and especially whatever bears the name of king. For few nations affect a free and independent government; the generality prefer just and equitable masters. They suspect us, because we are rivals with them for dominion, and may in time take vengeance for their oppressions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms, what can you expect from them but deceit at present, and war hereafter? The Romans are at war with all nations; but especially with those from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great, by boldly enterprising, betraying, and by making one war bring forth another. By this means, they will either destroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and we on that of Armenia, surround their army, which will be without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been

so prudent as to appreciate the views of this common enemy, and to unite ourselves in confederacy against him. It will be for your immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have conquered and destroyed those robbers of the world. This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do: by warning you to choose rather to share with us, by a salutary alliance, in the conquest of the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend itself still farther by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, which Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

^z One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: to him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. Syria^a being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

^b The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had trained well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the movements they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field,

^z Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.

^a Justin. lib. xl. c. 2.

^b Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515. A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68.

employed a new plan which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; and there he had deposited almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river Arsamia,* which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy: a great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first who fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost all courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

^c Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days' journey from thence, towards the north, and winter was approaching with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers, † already fatigued by a sufficiently rough campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came.

He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place

^c Dion. Cas. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

* Or Arsania.

† “Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.” Cic. *pro lege Manil.* n. 23.

of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there that the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known by the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debaucheries, which he carried to such excess as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion of which we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, well calculated to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and affable behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own troops, and four thousand given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of

* "Mithridates et suam manum jam confirmarat, et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerat, et magnis adventitiis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus;

the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as through the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect engraven in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself, more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. * So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius; and, after having put them to the rout, pressed Triarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenants in that country, with great vigour.

† Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Triarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed seven thousand of his men; amongst whom were reckoned a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four tribunes, ‡ which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained for a great while. The

ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur." *Cic. pro lege Manil.* n. 24.

* "Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit." *Cic. pro lege Manil.* n. 25.

† A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

‡ "Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret." *Cic. pro lege Manil.* n. 25.

army would have been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates had received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment; which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that, without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

SECT. IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arisen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucidæ. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That Prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, and C. PISO, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops towards Lucullus.

^d It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But one was wanting which diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean the art of gaining the affections, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate good will by praises and rewards opportunely bestowed, or by an air of kindness and affability, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters which Lucullus had written to the senate, in which he acquainted them that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that, far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing his command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade

^d Dion Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.

* "In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit." Cic. *pro lege Manil.* n. 26.

them paying him any farther obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make great ravages in Cappadocia.

* Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. Pompey had just put an end to the war with the pirates, for which an extraordinary power had been granted to him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, proposed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with the conduct of the war against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives as had been granted him in the war against the pirates; that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the higher Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: but what gave them

* Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. Appian. p. 238. Dion Cass. l. xxxv. p. 20.

* A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

most pain, and what they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. For this reason they exhorted each other in private, and mutually encouraged one another to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion, that the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, entitled, "For the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated, in the first two parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates at length the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shows that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: "Virtues, by so much the more necessary (says he), as the * Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in consequence of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. † Instead of which, the prudent, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey will make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the nations. People begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterest-

* "Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines." *Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 61.*

† "Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsu intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia, quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile ac falso memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse." *Ibid. n. 41.*

edness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it was not without reason, that, under such magistrates, nations chose rather to obey the Roman people than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had at first appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes; and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

^f We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at him. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also had in view only his own greatness. His weak side was a desire of bearing sway in the commonwealth; not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his wish to support himself by the influence of Pompey, he was very well pleased with showing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and, in a manner, two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. It was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

^f Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

§ Pompey, who had lately terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command: "Gods! what endless labours am I devoted to? Should I not have been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children!"

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most inordinately actuated by that passion. But, however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not endure his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his quarrel with Lucullus, made him feel a more refined and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him; and his actions soon took off the mask, and discovered his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing which his predecessor had decreed. He exonerated some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them: in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partizans of Lucullus see, that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. ^h Strabo's uncle, by the mother's side, highly

§ Plut. in Pomp. p. 634—636. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22—25. Appian. p. 238. A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

^h Strab. l. xii. p. 557, 558.

discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from a view to the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all the honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of this conduct. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to invectives; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. Of these he formed a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour

of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long contested.

ⁱ It was he who first brought cherries to Rome, which, till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were thus called from Cerasus, a city in Cappadocia.

Pompey began by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed *the god*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had anticipated him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. To appease them, Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect the condition of the Roman army; and to swear that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare, however, to come to a battle. That prince was encamped upon a mountain, in a very strong position, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there must be an abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not suf-

ⁱ Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

ficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within strong ramparts, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight * leagues in circumference, and were fortified with strong towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. Pompey's plan was to starve him out. And in fact he reduced him to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses alone were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night undiscovered, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was merely to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they induced him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not withstand the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But

* One hundred and fifty stadia.

those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsiceratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicerates,^k by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day on horseback, and wore the habit of a Persian. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

¹ That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, than from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising a hundred * talents to whosoever should seize or kill him; under pretence that it was Mithridates who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son, who bore the same name with himself. We have already mentioned that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape

^k "Ultra fœminam ferox." TACIT.

¹ Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

* A hundred thousand crowns.

the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes, the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove them out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way he was informed of his defeat; and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for, as he was about to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as he. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put into his hands the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, That of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that, in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied;

* “ Mox ipse supplex et præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam, tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei inhoneste aliquem summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset.” *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 37.

that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer ; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot ; telling him that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it to the lictors ; and afterwards, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him ; and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. After which he deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not shown him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents, for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on the hither side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death ; reserving, however, to the father the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it would have been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum which Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions,

* About £900,000 sterling.

which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to excite new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and, upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards, having discovered that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those whom he reserved for his triumph.

A short time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier in the Roman army fifty * drachmas, a † thousand to each centurion, and ten thousand to each ‡ tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This would have been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

^m After having regulated every thing in Armenia,

^m Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28—33. Appian. p. 242, 245.

* About twenty-two shillings sterling.

† About twenty-five pounds sterling.

‡ About two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the *Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him ; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

† The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never hitherto been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had successively possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold ; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæstors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, singled out Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that which he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as a hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the win-

* Called also Cynus by some authors.

† A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

ter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same which is now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had assigned it as an establishment to one of his sons, named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously pressed by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much dreaded meeting him. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father was not influenced by his reasons, he endeavoured to escape by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to kill himself than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates into the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœle-syria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country as far as the Tigris: these were two of his lieutenant-generals. ^a Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucidæ, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon

^a Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria from Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews and Arabians, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. * In him ended the empire of the Seleucidæ, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms; and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

° Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

¶ A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time; a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put

° Plut. in Pomp. p. 633, 639.

¶ Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the son, who was truly afflicted at a circumstance for which others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have * persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has displayed of such a contest of generosity. We have spoken in its place of a similar contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompense, that if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the New City, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a very good insight into his character. In one part he had noted

* "Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisse." *Val. Max.*

down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

^a His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For, amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicine. It was he who invented the excellent antidote which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

^r Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of the Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine Sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing. So that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria,

^a Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

^r Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Dion Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 34—36. Appian. p. 246—251. A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64.

was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red Sea. But an accident happened which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy had come to him from Mithridates, who demanded peace. He proposed that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all his other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not be satisfied with that. The negotiation broke off, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, for having, while the war still raged, disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act till a war is finally terminated; and now he fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and

divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new strength. And indeed at that very time, when he was believed to be irretrievably ruined, he was actually meditating a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus who, by always persisting, through gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians in Pontus, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana, and the sovereignty annexed to it, was given to the son, in recompense for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused

them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia; but news of importance interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace ever since Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him, and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party; far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps, to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of the neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit the nations there to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be anxious to throw off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as, in order to execute this project, it was necessary to march more than five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Podolia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, the Tirol, and Lombardy; and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po; the bare idea of so toilsome and dangerous a march threw his army into such terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces, his son, king, who had been active in

exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and, after having given poison to such of his wives, concubines, and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

* Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy-two. His greatest fear was of falling into the hands of the Romans, and of being led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution which he executed so suddenly. It is generally said, that the reason that the poison which he drank did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up

too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage-horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and his dominions to the Romans; and that thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This was a subject of great joy to both the army and general.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says* an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great through the favours of fortune, and always through his invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier by his bold and hazardous exploits; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities: a vast extent of mind, that embraced every subject; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him on a sudden again on the stage, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he is to be considered as a consummate general; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first; but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself

* Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 3.

* "Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus; virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus: consiliis dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal." *Vcl. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 18.

to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergencies, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he cannot but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and paricides with which he polluted his reign, and that inhuman cruelty which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

^t Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey, by his own eyes, of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to conciliate his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but as for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity as extinguished by death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus, his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telauros, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst these were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned

^t Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8; & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 35 & 36. A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, furniture, and military accoutrements for man and horse, that it cost the quæstor, or treasurer of the army, thirty entire days in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, as a reward for his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. Here he distributed rewards to his victorious army. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas (about 37*l.* sterling), and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents; that is to say, about two millions four hundred thousand pounds; besides which, he had twenty thousand more (three millions), to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

* His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot; amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. In the place of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and a colossal busto of gold of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

* A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 61.

BOOK THE TWENTY-FOURTH.

THE
HISTORY
OF
E G Y P T.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Auletes having been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander, is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the influence of Cæsar and Pompey, which he had purchased at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with taxes. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and, by money, obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother, very young, succeed him.*

* WE have seen in what manner Ptolemy Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, had withdrawn to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he had made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to show that they did not renounce their right, they

* Vol. VI. A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it would have been a very insecure establishment to possess a state to which they believed they had so just a claim, unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. For Ptolemy to get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *Player on the Flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans as in that of the Egyptians.

^u He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents; that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

^u Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. liv. Dion Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

* Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented at his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient dependence of Egypt, and, in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than she.

* Ptolemy, in the mean time, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, had also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival, expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that, if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him, if he thought fit. Accordingly he went. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but inwardly wonder how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person, with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his dress and all his equipage. But he was still more surprised, when, upon entering upon business, Cato blamed him, in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He

* Plut. in Cato Utic. p. 776.

* A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58.

did not scruple to tell him, that, though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him, therefore, to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices for that purpose.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good advice. He had full time to repent it, when he found himself, in that proud city, reduced to solicit the magistrates upon his business, from door to door, like a private person.

^y Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money which he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had since cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained at his own charge eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having, therefore, made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained for him a compliance with his request. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

* But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians,

^y Dion Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. l. i. ep. 1—4. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

* A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

having been informed that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than a hundred persons, at the head of whom was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and so much intimidated those whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: and his immense profusion, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his motion, it was resolved that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some short time after, though he who did the murder was accused in due form of law, the king was exculpated, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that he had nothing further to transact at Rome that demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer; he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in fact, made more noise than ever at

Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure and extraordinary applause.

* In order to put a new engine in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected ; and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which ran thus : " If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity : but, however, you shall not give him any troops ; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order to examine whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to lay what they had found in them before the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new thunder-stroke to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province, in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

* A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, as to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted but that it had been expressly contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret political intrigue. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree by which he had been commissioned with his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius, his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority: and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, occasioned by his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was discussed in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. ^z The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be spent without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his recal from banishment. But what means were there to render him any service, in the condition in which things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner, people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights, would have thought. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and still go with a good army to besiege Alexandria?

^z Cic. ad Famil. l. i. epist. 7.

After he had taken it, he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice: to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus: "You are the best judge, (says he), as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own honour and that of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in order that, after you have appeased the revolt, and left strong garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. * In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree; and he will be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the direction of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that at present in question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the pretended oracle of the Sibyl to be what indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, "That all † the world would judge of his conduct from the event: that therefore he had only to take his measures so well,

* "Ita fore ut per te restituitur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; et sine multitudine reducat, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt."

† "Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatu, videmus. — Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium, non esse conandum."

as to assure his success ; and that otherwise, he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and less cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by a positive law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, who had been expelled by the king, his brother, from Media, which kingdom had fallen to his share. ^a He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and, still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The pressing remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more Gabinus thought he had a right to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinus accepted the offer without hesitation.

^a Appian. in Syr. p. 120. & in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917. A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.

^b Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown, and Berenice, to Antiochus Asiaticus, in Syria, who, by his mother Selene's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: they brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of massy gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucidæ. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana, in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in fact, he was only the son of that prince's chief general.

^c Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to arrive at Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains, covered with sands of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so parched, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the fens of Serbonis. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes; but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of success in the expedition.

The enemy derived considerable advantage from the desire of glory which influenced Antony. For Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than, urged by

^b Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion Cass. l. xxxix. p. 115, 117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

^c Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that that act of cruelty would disgrace himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, and consequently the properest time for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp and break ground for the intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in fact, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and abandoned themselves to the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there more than in any other city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and after-

wards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinus, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

^d The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring. But, some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinus nor the authority of Ptolemy could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

^e Nothing further is known with respect to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to procure payment when he was entirely reinstated, that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a pretence for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt more miserable than he had gone thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that purpose; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having

^d Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

^e Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

shared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom, it was alleged, he had connived. Cicero's oration in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

^f Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age), he left them under the guardianship of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. ^g We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

SECT. II. *Pothinus and Achilles, ministers of the young King, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The King having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.*

^h LITTLE is known of the beginning of the reign of Cleopatra and her brother. That prince was a minor,

^f Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. v. A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51.

^g Eutrop. l. vi.

^h Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Ap-
pian. de Bel. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæs. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Diod.
l. xlii. p. 200—206. A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48.

under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt to engross to themselves the whole administration of the public affairs, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the quarrel between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and secure asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to Pompey's influence that he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make: Ptolemy, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to be the foot-ball of three unworthy persons who governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding themselves of him. His reason was, because, if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them

for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death ; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt ; for, said he, according to the proverb, " Dead men do not bite."

This advice prevailed, as being in their opinion the wisest and most safe. Achilles, Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that large vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death ; and, after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, " Every man who enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freedmen gave it with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and for that purpose made use of some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised ; and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea : this prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt,

whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him still alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horse and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory which it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. * As for his own person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival, he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him, and were then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some of those citizens, who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, clearly perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither as soon as possible. It was not in his power to leave

* "Cæsar confisus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat." CÆS.

Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually during the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; as those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the dispute between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had procured himself to be established upon the throne, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him a bond for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and urged his claim with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver which was found in them, and made the king and all the great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all the silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which were not destitute of probability in appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their dispute. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which, being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar re-

plied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being appointed arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the guardianship of the senate and people of Rome, the whole authority of which was then vested in his person, in quality of consul: that, as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, was, as executor of the will, to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed that her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those whom she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark night. Finding that there were no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapped it up in a cloth, tied up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the gate of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary; and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and even in Cæsar's own apartment, he quit-
ted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street rent the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears,

that he was betrayed ; and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in an uproar. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what was passing, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar would inevitably have been overpowered and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to show himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it : from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as guardian and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will ; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people ; for it was an absolute gift that he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury ; and it was to extricate himself out of his present danger that he made that concession.

* Every one was satisfied and charmed with this decree, except Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that it was only through fear and by force that Cæsar

had granted this decree, which would not long subsist ; and that his true design was to place Cleopatra alone upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have the sole authority. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achillas advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their former confusion. Achillas, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well, in the streets and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he would have been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire drove so near the quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter called Bruchion. It was at this time that the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature !

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time ; the other that

marched by land did not go thither at all. Before it had got there, the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia ; for he brought him the troops which extricated him out of the danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he awaited the aid he had sent for, in order that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands ; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who coincided with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted ; and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe, the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians ; who, not having had, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar that had been set on fire by the Romans, caused him to be put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to himself. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs ; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the office of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, than of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that purpose, and by a sluice, made with that design, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water made at one time served for the whole year. Every house had an opening like the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæsar to be stopped up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice that the legion which Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprised of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get,

* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as at that time.—*Thevenot's Travels.*

in order to attack him, upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships from the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and awaited the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, as they had no resource left if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink on account of the great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was thus swimming, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not wetted.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least pretended such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and, if

they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils with which a war very imprudently undertaken had distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. * Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea, near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

ⁱ He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœle-syria, and the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria also to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt; and upon arriving before

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15.

* "Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne a gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Cæsarem cæpit, ne se demitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius." *Hirt. de Bell. Alex.*

Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, all the passes of which had been seized by the Jews who inhabited it. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his influence and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near the Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broken, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to repossess the Nile, in order to escape.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of our January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young

prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he staid there nine months. Now he had arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

^k Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Æthiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to bring her to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such and as many wives as they thought fit. Helvius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his assistance upon the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but, immediately after that solemnity, he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence; at least it was there that Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a

^k Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree confirming them.

¹ What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

SECT. III. *Cleopatra causes her younger brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavianus, Cleopatra declares herself for the triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra; and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.*

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had re-established Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. ^m When he attained his fifteenth

¹ Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

^m Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphy. p. 226. A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43.

* This was a city of Cappadocia.

year, which was the time when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate, between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

ⁿ Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Allienus, the consul, Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and formed part of the troops which Cæsar had left with her for the defence of Egypt. * She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but it was prevented by storms from setting out. Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she resolutely refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavianus. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

^o Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was dependent upon the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step was, from its consequences, very fatal to Antony, and completed his ruin. His

* A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

ⁿ Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

^o Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 932. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671. A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41.

love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue which he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Antony; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience in the world; whereas she was going to appear before Antony, at an age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to manage and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself, therefore, with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially with most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their eagerness, and used never the more diligence for them. Having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and, going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The stern of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereides, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes were burning on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each

side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her: so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by every one, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the lights, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and whose brilliancy was such, that they made midnight seem bright day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But in spite of his utmost endeavours to exceed her in this entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendour as disposition of the feast; and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuousness and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left upon his mind and heart an indelible impression. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints

against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time that, at her entreaty, he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a secure asylum.

^P Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, at a feast to which she had invited him, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

^q Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and, after him, Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Antony's entertainment, as very niggardly and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend * more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed that she was merely bragging, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expense, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a

^P Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

^q Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Macrobi. Satur. l. ii. c. 13.

* *Centies H. S. Hoc est, centies centena millies sestertium*; which amounted to more than a million of livres, or £52,500 sterling.

million. "Stay," said the queen, "this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I cannot spend a million only upon myself." A second * table was brought, and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two pearls, the finest that ever were seen, each of which was valued at above fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the † vinegar, and, after having dissolved it, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other; ‡ Plancus stopped her, and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed two millions in two draughts.

§ Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expenses; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

* The ancients changed their tables at every course.

† Vinegar is strong enough to dissolve the hardest things. *Aceti succus domitor rerum*, as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before her, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls dissolved in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous.

Filius Æsopi detractqm ex aure Metellæ,

Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto

Diluit insignem baccam—— HOR. l. ii. Sat. 5.

‡ This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess. PLIN. *ibid.*

§ A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40.

A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild bears roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at the supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there would not be above a dozen in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. "For (added he) it often happens that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason, not one, but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to have it set on table."

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much vexed on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want skill or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten to his hook some of their large fishes, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did

not fail. When they were all got into the fishing boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, one of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what bursts of laughter arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, "Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his lethargy, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. * But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

^s This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, still retained a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her with the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own lan-

* A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

^s Epiphan. de mens. et pond. A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38.

guage; the Æthiopians, Troglodytæ, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. * She knew, besides, several other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt had scarcely been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgotten the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself to be the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the Lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the extent of the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

† It was in one of these expeditions that the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna, in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. “Is it true,” said that prince, during the repast, talking of this story, “that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?”—“If it were,” replied the veteran with a smile, “I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has been of great service to me. For, if I have any thing, I am entirely

* Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

† Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23.

indebted for it to the good goddess ; upon one of whose legs, my lord, you are now supping."

^u Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in these countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra ; and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languor, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes and great sums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came only to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions, to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to be dying for love of Antony ; and with that view made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement : and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide from him her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least uneasiness to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. And in fact, at the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be

^u Plut. in Anton. p. 939—942. A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C. 35.

agreeable to him to have the presents carried which she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a just reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing a high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence not only the children he had by her, but also those whom he had by Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of rebuffs and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect; and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it would be absolutely cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that, for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

* It was with great difficulty then that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

† After having made himself master of Armenia; as much by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure after his great fatigues in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed days and nights. That vain ‡ Egyptian woman, at one of these banquets, seeing Antony flushed with wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and with diamond buttons. On his side he wore a scymetar, after the Persian mode, the hilt and scabbard of which were loaded with precious stones; he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand in a brilliant robe, made of the precious linen which was appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsarion, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and

* A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34.

† A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33.

‡ "Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit: et promisit Antonius." FLOR. l. iv. c. 2.

the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœle-syria, in conjunction with her son Cæsarion. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings; and declared, that, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, rising from their seats, approached the throne, and, putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and had already advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes; but the news of what was passing at Rome against him prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian Sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, where he might be ready to act in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen, apprehending that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by dint of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that

it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side, nor useful to himself; because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army—she, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, and who might have learnt, in her intercourse with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expenses, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

* It was probably in one of these feasts that the circumstance happened which is related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill-founded his fears were: and at the same time, if she had so bad an intention, how ineffectual all the precautions he took would be. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed to Antony to drink off those flowers. He made no difficulty; and, after having

* Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

plucked off the ends of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him,—“ I am the poisoner against whom you take such mighty precaution. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or means for such an action.” Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem as Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, which terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and at the head of which he himself would be in quality of a citizen of Athens.

⁊ The new consuls, Caius Sosius and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprised of this, he assembled all the heads of his party: and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But volup-

⁊ Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955. A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32.

tuousness prevailed, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia; an indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit that they should resent it; and that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war; she who had consented to her marriage with Antony, solely from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such a height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by *two persons of consular dignity, who, not being able to endure the pride of Cleopatra and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they discovered it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an instrument confided to their care; alleging in their excuse the faith of trusts, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The

* Titius and Plancus.

will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsarion, as lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of *kings of kings*. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a forgery contrived by Cæsar to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed what probability was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt.

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree enacted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy, that he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he did not hurt the feelings of those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that

Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do real service.

On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycæonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; its flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley equally splendid. That queen,* intoxicated with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared with her infamous troop of eunuchs utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men,

* ————— *Dum Capitolio*
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria—————

HOR. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,
 Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,
 The haughty queen conceives the wild design,
 So much her vain ambition charms!
 With her polluted band of supple slaves,
 Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
 The Capitol in dust to level low,
 And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow!

and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but then they were much lighter and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Coreyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter quarters, and their fleets into good ports till the approach of spring.

* Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But Antony had been not susceptible of good advice for a long time, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged of things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she rightly perceived that in case of misfortune it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion, therefore, took place against the advice of all the generals.

† The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. The contest was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terri-

* A M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

† The 4th before the nones of September.

ble to a woman, took to flight when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, which consisted of sixty ships of the line, with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that, though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day Cæsar, seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the main body of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting with profound melancholy upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes it had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those gloomy thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions and two-and-twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head against Cæsar, and given him abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus, Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus,

* Promontory of Laconia.

who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no reason to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

* Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships and others which she already had in that sea; but the Arabians who inhabited the coast having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing, therefore, her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love; and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopa-

tra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures ; her person to adorn his triumph, her treasures to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person ; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment, and that those which were gentle brought on an easy but slow death, she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds

of serpents to be applied in her presence to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; but merely throwing the persons bitten into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitable to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever displayed before; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess! The most odious of vices were united in her person; an avowed disregard of modesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the rest, the false exterior of a deceitful friendship, which covers a fixed design of delivering up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis she had caused tombs

and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious effects and moveables to be carried ; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence which he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and, being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally ; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horse which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of expiring valour ; for, after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who was betraying him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised ; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his

galleys in view, which were going out of the port in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack ; but was much astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him, when too late, give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signaling himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his opinion, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with strong walls, and the gates of which she had ordered to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that, preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors' tombs, where she had also chosen her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have suspected after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her to the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave ; and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, look-

ing upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor, in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes; and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at a high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him; and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that it gave relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy since he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as

the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had, however, a conversation with him without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, "O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!" Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, "You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing his goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully; to prevent her

making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her at the same time with all the attention and complaisance she could desire: he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Arius, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to testify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and, seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground; he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: the first, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Arius, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but, when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her

bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien which were inspired by her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth keen glances, and a kind of radiance which brightened in her looks, and in every movement of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," (said she to him, pointing to those pictures), "behold those images, of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I am indebted for my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it, "See also," said she, (kissing them) "the dear testimonies of his love." She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances: but she employed those arts with no success; for, whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she presaged no good; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and which he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in fact, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him,

and gave him several blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, "Is it not a horrible thing," (said she to him,) "that while you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition in which I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a wretch like myself, but as a slight present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?"

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved: and after having assured her that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could venture to hope, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, who, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides that, her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better, therefore, to cajole him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and tears, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she arose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut

the door, sat down upon a couch, and asked for a basket of figs which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after laid down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict examination : but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there seemed so little appearance of deceit in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had written to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony ; and he instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That * princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the

* *Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum ;
Deliberata morte ferocior ;
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.*

HOR. OD. xxxvii. l. 1.

Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul ;
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,
That can both death and fear control !
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd a vulgar captive by his side,
His pompous triumph to attend ;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw, with a tearless and stedfast eye, the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, if we date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred and ninety-three years, from the year of the world 3681 to 3974.

CONCLUSION

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire still remains, that of the Romans, which, having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and, after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, will be itself torn, in a manner, into different pieces, and, by being so dismembered; make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, a picture on a small scale of the duration of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that is most splendid and most capable of exciting admiration in human greatness! Every excellence, by a happy concurrence, is here found assembled: the fire of genius, delicacy of taste, accompanied by solid judgment; uncommon powers of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from nature and

truth ; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences ; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view ! What powerful, what glorious kings ! What great captains ! What famous conquerors ! What wise magistrates ! What learned philosophers ! What admirable legislators ! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, who appear to possess them as privileges peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much do they appear above the power of human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and ecstasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone truly estimate all things, sees nothing in them but littleness, meanness, vanity, and pride ; and whilst mankind are anxiously busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and, if that were possible, rendering them eternal, GOD, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him : ^a “ He seeth from everlasting to everlasting.” He has assigned to all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions which we have seen, nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue which Nebuchadnezzar saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, GOD thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is splendid, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colos-

^a Eccles. xxxix. 20.

sus? ^b “A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.”

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who came down from heaven to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed Virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples; in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea that a prophet represents him to us: ^c “He went forth conquering and to conquer.” His work and mission are, “to set up a kingdom for his Father, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people;” like those of which we have seen the history; “but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.”

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their might, have nothing which approaches in the slightest degree to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man,

^b Dan. ii. 34, 35.

^c Apoc. vi. 2.

which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. At least all their greatness vanishes and perishes with them. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. ^d “All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.” He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth ; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed with these outward appearances, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it ; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which, however, determines our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the company of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall have received its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect, ^e “Then cometh the end, when JESUS CHRIST shall have delivered up the kingdom to GOD, even the FATHER: when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.” GOD grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose King is love, and whose duration is eternity ! *Fiat, Fiat.*

^d Matt. xxviii. 18.

^e 1 Cor. xv. 24.

THE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of the just computation of time. It shows to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either Solar or Lunar.

The Solar year is that space of time which elapses between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year ; for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes.

The Lunar Year is composed of twelve lunar months, each of which consists of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that in common use, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though all nations may not agree with one another in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the motion of the sun, and others by that of the moon, they, however, generally use the solar year in *chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed, that the nations who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the solar ; which makes them correspond with each other ; or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. These are called

Epochs, from a Greek * word, which signifies to stop, because we stop there to consider, as from a resting-place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs, is arbitrary; and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years is called an Era. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal, and those most in use, are that of *the Creation of the World*, of *the Birth of Jesus Christ*, of *the Olympiads*, and of *the Building of Rome*. I make use only of the two most famous, that is to say, that of *the World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows, that the *Olympiads* derived their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By an *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of the games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228, before Christ 776. When the time in which an event happened is reckoned by *Olympiads*, authors say, the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an *Olympiad*; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the *Olympiad* which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this *epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is also a famous era in *chronology*, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain, in few words, wherein this period consists, and its use: but first I must give the reader an idea of the three *cycles* of which it is composed.

By the word *cycle*, is understood the revolution of a certain number of years.

The *Solar Cycle* is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit; that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces some variations, which are all included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar cycle consists.

The *Lunar Cycle*, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of this cycle to Meto, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two cycles, chronologers admit a third also, called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the *first indiction*, the second the *second indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19, and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar era commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*. If that number be divided by 28, what remains* after the division shews the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three cycles cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to

* I say, what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of cycles, elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division shews the year of the current cycle.

the year when the three cycles, of which it is composed, began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are some who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jesus Christ*. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used, for every body agrees in respect to the year in which that began, and there is nobody who does not allow that the first year of the vulgar era falls in with the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar era of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that era 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the *Julian period* to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.

THE TABLE.

A. M.	A. C.	Assyrians.
1300	2204	Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians.
		Ninus, the son of Nimrod.
		Semiramis. She reigned forty-two years.
		Ninyas.
		<i>The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.</i>

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Greece.</i>
1816	2188	Menes or Mesram, first king of Egypt. Busiris. Osymandias Uchoreus. Moeris.	
1915	2089		Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon.
1920	2084	The Shepherd-kings seize Lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	
2084	1920	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the Shepherd-kings.	
2148	1856		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.
2179	1825	Thethmosis expels the Shepherd-kings, and reigns in Lower Egypt.	
2276	1728	Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold to Potiphar.	
2298	1706	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.	
2427	1577	Ramesses-Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.	
2448	1556	Cecrops conducts a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He institutes the Areopagus.
2488	1516		Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.
2494	1510	Amenophis, the eldest son of Ramesses, succeeds him.	
2513	1491	The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red Sea, Sesostri his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself, after a reign of 33 years.	
2530	1474		Danaus, brother of Sesostri, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos.
2547	1457	Pheron succeeds Sesostri.	Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycene.

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Greece.</i>
2628	1376		Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth.
2710	1294		The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.
2720	1284		Ægæus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.
2800	1204	Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. Rhampsinit. — Cheops. — Chephrem. — Mycerinus. — Asychis. The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration; but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.	The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus; from whence they are obliged to retire soon after.
2820	1184		
2900	1104		Troy taken by the Greeks. The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the two brothers Eurysthenes and Procles reign together.
2934	1070		Institution of the Archons at Athens. Medon, the son of Codrus, is the first.
2949	1055		Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the seat of his government.
2991	1013	Pharaoh king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon.	
3026	978	Sesac, otherwise called Sesonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge.	
3033	971	Sesac marches against Jerusalem and conquers Judæa.	
3063	941	Zara king of Egypt makes war with Asa king of Judah.	
		Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himself master of Egypt, reigns there fifty years; after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anysis.	
3120	884		Lycurgus.
3160	844		Homer. Hesiod lived about the same time.
3210	794		Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia.
3228	776		Beginning of the common era of the Olympiads.
<i>I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninjas down to this time, nothing is known of their history.</i>			

A. M. A. C.		Assyrians.					
3233	771	Phul. This is the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jenah's preaching.					
3237	767	Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns himself in his palace. The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed; that of the Assyrians of Babylon; that of the Assyrians of Nineveh; and that of the Medes.					
		Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
3257	747			Belesis, or Nabonasar. The scripture calls him Baladan.	Tiglath Pileasar. In the eighth year of his reign he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, and makes himself master of Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah.	Arbaces exercises the sovereign authority over the Medes, without taxing upon him the title of king.	
3261	743		First war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians. It continues 20 years.				The Heraclidæ possessed the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the first king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2781. The history of his successors is little known before Candaules.
3268	736			Merodach Baladan. He sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health.	Salamana-sar. In the eighth year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity.		Candaules.
3269	735						
3280	724						
3285	719	Sethon. He reigned 14 years.	Archilochus the famous poet.	Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Babylon.			
3286	718						Gyges. He puts Candaules to death, and reigns in his stead.
3287	717				Sennacherib. In the fifth year of his reign he makes war against Hezekiah king of Judah. An angel destroys his army at the time he is besieging Jerusalem.		

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
					On his return to his kingdom, he is killed by his own children.		
3294	710				Asarhad-		
3296	708				don.		
3298	706	Tharaca reigns 18 years.				Dejoces causes himself to be declared king of the Medes.	
		Anarchy two years in Egypt.					
3319	685	Twelve or	Second				
3320	684	the principal lords of	war between the				
3323	681	Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority.	Lacedæmonians and Messenians: 14 years.		Asarhad-don unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.		Death of Gyges.
3324	680						Ardys his son succeeds him.
							In his reign of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.
3327	677				Asarhad-don carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria.		
3334	670	Psammeticus, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azotus after a siege of 29 years.			The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him to Babylon.		
					<i>Babylon and Nineveh.</i>		
3335	669				Saosduchin, or Nabuchodonosor I. The 12th year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia.	Death of Dejoces.	
3347	657					Phraortes succeeds him.	
3356	648				Death of Nabuchodonosor. Saracus, called also Chynaladanus, succeeded him.		
3364	640		Tyrtus, a poet, who excelled in celebrating		Nabopolassar's revolt	Phraortes perishes at the siege	Sadyattes. He forms
3369	635						
3373	631						
3378	626						

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon & Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
			military virtue. Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionic sect.	against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon.	of Nineveh, the siege of Miletus in the 16th year of his reign. with part of his army. Cyaxares his son succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions.	
3386	624		Draco, legislator of Athens.	Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire.	Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Syracus its king to death.	Alyattes. He continues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on six years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after, by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes.
3385	619					
3388	616	Nechao.		<i>Babylon.</i>		
		In the 7th year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seizes part of his dominions. He reigned 16 years.		Nabopolassar associates his son Nabuchodonosor in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army to reconquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.		
3397	607			Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor. He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongst them the prophet Daniel.		
				The Captivity begins from his carrying away the Jews to Babylon.		
3398	606			Death of Nabopolassar. His son Nabuchodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.		
				Nabuchodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3399	605		Solon.			
3400	604		The seven sages of Greece			
3403	601	Psammetichus	lived about this time.			
3404	600	six years.	Alcæus, from whom the Alcaic verses take		Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses,	

<i>A. M. A. C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Greece.</i>	<i>Babylon.</i>	<i>Media.</i>	<i>Lydia.</i>
3405 599		their name. Sappho, at the same time.	Nabuchodonosor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judea, blockade Jerusalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nabuchodonosor repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jehoachin, whom he carries into captivity.	king of Persia. Birth of Cyrus. Death of Cyaxares. Astyages his son succeeds him. He reigns 35 years.	
3409 595					
3410 594	Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the 1st year of his reign.				
3411 593	Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah.				
3416 588	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya. Amasis revolts against Apries.		Nabuchodonosor destroys Jerusalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his dominions, he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.	Cyrus goes for the first time into Media, to see his grandfather Astyages. He remains three years with him.	
3430 574					
3432 572	Nabuchodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne.		Nabuchodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of 13 years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.		
3434 570			Nabuchodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3435 569	Apries dies in the 25th year of his reign.	Thespis reforms tragedy.	Nabuchodonosor reduced to the condition of beasts during seven years; after which he reigns again one year.		
3440 564	Amasis reigns after him in peace.	Pythagoras lived about this time.	Evil-Merodach his son succeeds him. He reigns only two years.		
3442 562					
3444 560		Simonides the celebrated poet.	Neriglissor. He makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Cræsus to his aid.	Death of Astyages. Cyaxares succeeds him, known in Scripture under	Cræsus. Esop lived in his reign, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Greece.</i>	<i>Babylon.</i>	<i>Media.</i>	<i>Lydia.</i>
					the name of Darius the Mede.	
3445	559		Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens.		Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.	
3447	557				Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.	
3448	556			Laborosoarchod. He reigns only nine months.	Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Neriglissor is slain.	Cræsus flies before Cyrus.
3449	555			Labynit, called in scripture, Belshazzar.	About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.	Battle of Thymbra between Cræsus and Cyrus, followed by the taking of Sardis by the latter.
3456	548		Hippoxanax, author of the verse Scæzon. Heraclitus, chief of the sect which bears his name.			End of the kingdom of Lydia.
3464	540		Birth of Æschylus.	Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon.	Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon.	
3466	538		Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.	The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Death of Cyaxares.	
3468	536					

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Persian Empire.
				<i>After the death of Cyaxarcs and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians; and of the three formed a fourth, under the name of the Empire of the Persians, which subsisted 206 years.</i>
				<i>Empire of the Persians.</i>
3468	536			Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa.
3470	534			Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.
3475	529			Cyrus dies on a journey which he makes into Persia, after having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.
3478	526		Death of	
3479	525	Psammetichus. He reigns only six months.	Pisistratus. Hippias his son succeeds him.	Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the empire of the Persians.
		After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the Persian dominions, & continues so till the reign of Alexander the Great, which includes the space of two hundred and six years.		
3480	524			Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians.
3481	523			Cambyses puts Merœ, who was both his sister and wife, to death.
				It was about this time that Oretas, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyses, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.
3482	522			Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magian, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyses, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months.
3483	521			Darius, son of Hystaspes.
3485	519			Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is confirmed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther happened some time after the publication of this edict.
3488	516			Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months.
3490	514		Miltiades goes to settle in the Chersonesus.	Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.
3496	508		The Pisistratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica.	Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection.

A.M.	A.C.	
		<i>The History of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians ; for which reason I shall separate their Chronology no farther.</i>
		<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3501	503	The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.
3502	502	Aristagorus, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.
3504	500	The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it.
3507	497	The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus.
		Æschylus.
3510	494	Darius sends Gobrias his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece.
		Anacreon.
3513	491	Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobrias, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.
3514	490	Battle of Marathon.
3515	489	Unfortunate end of Miltiades.
3519	485	Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.
3520	484	Birth of the historian Herodotus.
3524	480	Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.
		Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, fought at the same time with the battle of Thermopylæ.
		Birth of Euripides.
		Battle of Salamis, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.
3525	479	Battle of Plataæ. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.
3526	478	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.
3528	476	The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.
		Pindar flourished about this time.
3530	474	Pausanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.
3531	473	Themistocles, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.
		Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.
3532	472	Xerxes is killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guards.
		Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.
3533	471	Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.
		Birth of the historian Thucydides.
3534	470	Great earthquakes at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus, which gives rise to a sedition of the Helots.
		Birth of Socrates.
3535	469	Beginning of Pericles.
		Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3535	469	Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians, in sending back their troops, after having called them in to their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.
3537	467	Ezra obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with all who are willing to follow him.
3538	466	Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.
3540	464	Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of Physicians called <i>Διαίτητική</i> . Hippocrates was his disciple.
3544	460	The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.
3545	459	Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.
3548	456	The Egyptians and Athenians are defeated in their turn; in consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Biblos, under the command of Inarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.
		Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Thebans.
3550	454	Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.
3554	450	Birth of Xenophon.
		Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence; reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.
3555	449	End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years.
		Death of Cimon.
3558	446	The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.
		Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.
		Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.
3564	440	Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island, after a siege of nine months.
		Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus. Parrhasius his rival lived at the same time.
		Aristophanes, the comic poet.
3568	436	Birth of Isocrates.
		War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyrians. The inhabitants of Pontidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.
		Scopas, architect and sculptor.
3573	431	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It continues 27 years.
3574	430	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.
3575	429	Death of Pericles.
3576	428	The Lacedæmonians besiege Platææ.
		Plato, founder of the ancient academy.
3579	425	Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days.
		Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.
3580	424	Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him.

A. M.	A. C.	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3580	424	The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.
		Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.
		Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Παικίλη at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.
3583	421	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.
3584	420	The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.
3588	416	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egesta against the Syracusans.
3589	415	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.
3590	414	Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.
3593	411	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.
3595	409	Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.
		Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.
3598	406	Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.
3599	405	Callicratidas gets the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginusæ.
		Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.
		Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.
3600	404	Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty tyrants.
		End of the Peloponnesian war.
		Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces his son succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.
		Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent back to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.
3601	403	Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis.
		Thrasylulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
3602	402	Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.
3603	401	Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand.
		Death of Socrates.

A. M.	A. C.	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3604	400	Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus.
3606	398	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.
3607	397	Agésilas is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Africa, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.
3609	395	Lysander quarrels with Agésilas, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne. The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agésilas.
3610	394	Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agésilas is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabasus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agésilas defeats the Thebans almost at the same time, in the plains of Coronea. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
3617	387	Peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcidas the Lacedæmonian.
3618	386	Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him. It is followed by the siege of Salamis, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.
3620	384	Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.
3621	383	The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus.
3622	382	Birth of Philip, king of Macedon. Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes. Birth of Demosthenes.
3626	378	Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrant of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.
3627	377	Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparations for that war.
3629	375	Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdicas ascends the throne next, and reigns 14 years.
3630	374	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his son succeeds him.
3634	370	Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians.
3635	369	Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ. He goes to Macedonia, to terminate the differences between Perdicas and Ptolemy, son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Phæræ.
3641	363	Battle of Mantinea. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.
3642	362	The Lacedæmonians send Agésilas to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition. Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.
3644	360	Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a capitious peace with the Athenians.
		<i>The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's Successors. I shall annex it to that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.</i>

<i>A. M. A. C.</i>	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3646 358	War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years.
3648 356	Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.
3649 355	Revolt of Artabasis against Ochus king of Persia.
	Birth of Alexander the Great.
	Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages
	the Athenians, who were alarmed by the preparations for war making
	by the king of Persia.
	Beginning of the sacred war.
3650 354	Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.
3651 353	Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone.
3652 352	Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, whom she had succeeded, takes
	Rhodes.
	Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain.
3653 351	Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and af-
	terwards Egypt.
3654 350	Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obli-
	ged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns.
3656 348	Death of Plato.
	Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
3658 346	Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Phocis. He causes him-
	self to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons.
3662 342	Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of
	Diopithies.
3665 339	The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus
	and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise
	the siege.
3666 338	Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the
	Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elataæ.
	Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the
	Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.
	Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas his favourite. Arses
	his son succeeds him, and reigns only three years.
3667 337	Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against
	the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His
	son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Il-
	lyria.
3668 336	Philip's death. Alexander his son, then twenty years of age, suc-
	ceeds him.
	Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. Darius Codo-
	manus succeeds him.
3669 335	Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to
	be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet
	assembled at Corinth.
3670 334	Alexander sets out for Persia.
	Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all
	Asia Minor.
3671 333	Alexander is seized at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having
	bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days.
	Battle of Issus.
3672 332	Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven
	months.
	Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides
	and Protogenus were his contemporaries.
	Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza
	and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the
	temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alex-
	andria.

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3673	331	Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.
3674	330	Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted 206 years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great. The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zardacarta.
3675	329	Philotas, and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death. Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death. Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Taxartes, to which he gives his name. Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.
3676	328	Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time. Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus. Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Calisthenes happens soon after.
3677	327	Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes. Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.
3678	326	On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back. The city of Oxdyracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.
3679	325	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius. Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon. Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.
3680	324	Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana. Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.
3681	323	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two-and-thirty years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas. The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the era of the empire of the Lagidæ in Egypt.
3682	322	The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment. Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it.
3683	321	Death of Demosthenes. Alexander's magnificent funeral. Perdiccas puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia. League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes. Death of Craterus. Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.
3684	320	Eumenes defeated by Antigonus; shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year. Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.
3685	319	Death of Antipater. Polysperchon succeeds him.

A. M.	A. C.	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3685	319	Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens. Cassander, the son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.
3687	317	Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus and Eurydice his wife to be put to death, as she herself is soon after, by order of Cassander.
3689	315	Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death.
3691	313	Antigonus takes Tyre, after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear.
3692	312	Zeno institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens.
3693	311	Seleucus makes himself master of Babylon and the neighbouring provinces.
		At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon, begins the famous era of the Seleucidæ, called by the Jews the era of contracts.
		Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him.
		Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be put to death.
3695	309	Polysperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Berenice, to death.
3696	308	Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy.
3698	306	Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamis, and the whole island of Cyprus.
		Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death.
		Antigonus and his son Demetrius assume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.
3699	305	Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed.
		Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.
3700	304	Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after.
3701	303	The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machines which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous Colossus, called the Colossus of Rhodes.
		Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks, by the states of Greece assembled at the isthmus.
3702	302	Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus and Demetrius his son.
		Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is killed. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.
		Argesilaus, founder of the middle academy.
		<i>There is so much connection between the events which happened in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them : for which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my History. I shall first give a table, that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.</i>

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>	<i>Macedonia.</i>	<i>Thrace & Bithynia.</i>
3704 3701	300 297	Ptolemy Soter.	Seleucus Nicator.	Cassander. Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years. Demetrius Poliorcetes.	Lysimachus.
3710	294			Pyrrhus and Lysimachus.	
3717 3719 3723	287 285 281	Ptolemy Philadelphus.		Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	Lysimachus is killed in a battle. After his death his dominions are dismembered, and cease to form a distinct kingdom.
		<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>	<i>Macedonia.</i>	
3724	280		Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned some time after him.	
3726 3728	278 276			Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatas.	
3743 3758 3762	261 246 242	Ptolemy Euergetes.	Antiochus Theos. Seleucus Callinicus.	Demetrius, son of Antigonus Gonatas. Antigonus Doson.	
3772 3778 3781 3783 3784 3800	232 226 223 221 220 204	Ptolemy Philopator.	Seleucus Ceraunus. Antiochus the Great.	Philip.	
3817 3824 3825	187 180 179	Ptolemy Epiphanes. Ptolemy Philometor.	Seleucus Philopator.	Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians.	
		<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>		
3829 3840 3842 3854 3859 3860	175 164 162 150 145 144	Ptolemy Physcon.	Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiochus Eupator. Demetrius Soter. Alexander Bala. Demetrius Nicator.	Antiochus Theos, the son of Bala, seizes part of Syria. Tryphon does the same soon after.	
3864	140			Antiochus Sidetes puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room.	
3877	127			Zebina succeeds Demetrius Nicator.	

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>
3880	124		Seleucus, the son of Nicator. Antiochus Grypus.
3887	117	Ptolemy Lathyrus.	
3890	114		Antiochus the Cyzicenean divides the kingdom with Grypus.
3897	107	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.	
3907	97		Seleucus, son of Grypus.
3911	93		Antiochus Eusebes.
3912	92		Antiochus, second son of Grypus.
3913	91		Philip, third son of Grypus.
3914	90		Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus.
3919	85		Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus. The four last named kings reigned successively with Eusebes.
3921	83		Tigranes, during fourteen years.
3923	81	Alexander II. son of Alexander I.	
3935	69		Antiochus Asiaticus.
3939	65	Ptolemy Auletes.	
3946	58	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Aulctes, reigns some time in his stead; after which that prince is restored.	
3953	51	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy her youngest brother, and at last alone.	
<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>			
3704	300	Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch.	
		Athens refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.	
3707	297	Death of Cassander, king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is succeeded by Alexander his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.	
3709	295	Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.	
3710	294	Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.	
3711	293	Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.	
3717	287	Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.	
3719	285	Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
		Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philetærus.	
3721	283	Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.	
3722	282	Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.	
3723	281	Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.	

A. M.	A. C.	<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>
3724	280	Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothracia. The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.
		Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.
3725	279	Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.
3726	278	Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers. Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.
		Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphi.
3727	277	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek.
3728	276	Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatus, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.
3729	275	Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of Soter.
3730	274	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.
		Ptolemy Philadelphus, in consequence of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.
3732	272	Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.
3736	268	Antigonus Gonatus makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.
3739	265	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias its governor to death.
		Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3741	263	Death of Philetærus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes his nephew succeeds him.
3743	261	Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after.
		Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
3746	258	Accommodation between Magas and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3749	255	War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3752	252	Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.
3754	250	Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus governor of Bactriana revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.
3755	249	Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.

A. M.	A. C.	<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>
3756	248	Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.
3757	247	Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Euergetes his son succeeds him. Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
3758	246	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.
3760	244	Ptolemy Euergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria. The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Euergetes. Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth. Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
3762	242	Death of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his son succeeds him. Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
3763	241	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus his cousin-german succeeds him.
3765	239	Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, is made librarian to Ptolemy Euergetes.
3771	233	Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Euergetes.
3772	232	Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him. Polycletus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor.
3774	230	Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians.
3776	228	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.
3778	226	Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians of a fall from a horse. Seleucus Ceraunus his eldest son succeeds him. Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt. Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysicles, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.
3779	225	The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree, that they shall be admitted to a share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens.
3781	223	Antigonus, king of Macedon, by the intrigues of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis. Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.
3782	222	Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus his brother, surnamed the Great, succeeds him.
3783	221	The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake. Death of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopator succeeds him.

<i>A. M. A. C.</i>		<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>
3783	221	The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.
3784	220	Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before; the first in Media, the second in Persia. Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Philip, the son of Demetrius, succeeds him. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him. War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.
3785	219	Hermias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders.
3787	217	Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Antiochus, king of Syria. Treaty of peace between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Achæans, on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.
3788	216	Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted, in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan.
3789	215	Hannibal's alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia. Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia.
3790	214	Carneades, founder of the new academy.
3792	212	Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.
3793	211	Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some time after.
3796	208	Famous battle between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Ætolians, near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.
3798	206	Battle of Mantinea, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.
3800	204	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it. Polybius is said to have been born this year.
3801	203	Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.
3802	202	League between Philip, king of Macedon, and Antiochus, king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.
3803	201	Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chios. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.
3804	200	Philip besieges and takes Abydos.
3805	199	The Romans declare war against Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolophus in Macedonia.
3806	198	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flaminius is sent to succeed Villicus.
3807	197	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœle-syria. The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.
3808	196	Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same. Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him. Battle of Cynoscephalæ, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.
		Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war.

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>
3808	196	Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.
		Conspiracy of Scopas the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.
3809	195	Flamininus makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.
3813	191	Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.
		The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.
		Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.
		Antiochus goes into Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.
3814	190	Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years.
		The philosopher Panætius was born about this time.
3815	189	The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time subjects all the Gauls in Asia.
		The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.
3817	187	Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.
3821	183	Philopœmen is taken before Messene by Dinocrates, and put to death.
3823	181	Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.
3824	180	Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometor succeeds him.
3825	179	Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.
3829	175	Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.
3830	174	Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.
3833	171	War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometor.
		The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.
3834	170	Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties.
3835	169	The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Euergetes, his younger brother, king.
		Philometor is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.
3836	168	Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war, against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire, till twenty years after.
		The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.

A. M.	A. C.	<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>
3836	168	<p>Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and comes to an accommodation with the two brothers.</p> <p>Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.</p> <p>The same year he publishes a decree, to oblige all nations in subjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution amongst the Jews.</p>
3837	167	<p>Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time.</p> <p>Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.</p>
3838	166	<p>Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it.</p> <p>Death of Mattathias. Judas his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.</p>
3840	164	<p>Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies in the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his son, succeeds him.</p>
3841	163	<p>Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital.</p>
3842	162	<p>Difference between Philometor, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years.</p> <p>Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.</p> <p>Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.</p>
3843	161	<p>Death of Judas Maccabeus.</p>
3844	160	<p>Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans.</p>
3845	159	<p>Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometor succeeds him.</p>
3848	156	<p>War between Attalus and Prusias.</p>
3851	153	<p>Alexander Bala pretends to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.</p>
3852	152	<p>Andriscus of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.</p>
3854	150	<p>Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.</p>
3856	148	<p>Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.</p>
3857	147	<p>Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.</p>
3858	146	<p>Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him; and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it.</p>

A. M. A. C.		Alexander's Successors.	
3858	146	Greece is reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia.	
		<i>The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled; for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.</i>	
		Syria.	Egypt.
3859	145	Demetrius Nicator,	Death of Ptolemy
3860	144	son of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne.	Philometor. Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, succeeds him.
3863	141	Demetrius marches against the Parthians. After some small advantages, he is taken prisoner.	
3864	140		Death of Attalus,
3866	138	Antiochus Sidetes, the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himself.	king of Pergamus. Attalus, his nephew, surnamed Philometor, succeeds him. He reigns five years.
3868	136	Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.	The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place.
3871	133		(Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. Andronicus seizes them.)
3873	131	Antiochus marches against the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They send back Demetrius the year following.	
3874	130	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	(The consul Perpena defeats Andronicus, and sends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province by Manius Aquilius.) Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries her daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alex-

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>		<i>Egypt.</i>
3877	127	Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place, and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.		andrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. Physcon re-ascends the throne of Egypt.
3880	124	Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus succeeds him.	Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies soon after.	Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.
3884	120	Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus, and		Death of Physcon.
3887	117	is poisoned herself.	Antiochus the Cyziceni- an, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sides, takes arms against Grypus. He has the worst in the beginning; but two years after obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.	Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds him. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and to marry Selene, his youngest.
3891	113			Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son.
3897	107			Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne.
3900	104			Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan.
3901	103			Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself.
3903	101			Cleopatra takes her daughter Selene from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyziceni- an.
3907	97	Death of Grypus.	Antiochus the Cyziceni- an is defeated, and put to death.	
3910	94	Seleucus, his son, succeeds him.		
3911	93	Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burned in Mopsuestia.	Antiochus Eusebes, the son of the Cyziceni- an, causes himself to be declared king. He marries Selene the widow of Grypus.	
3912	92	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eu-		

A. M.	A. C.	Syria.	Egypt.
		sebes, and drowned in the Orontes.	
3913	91	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.	
3914	90	Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus, by the aid of Lathyrus.	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3915	89		Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after.
3916	88	Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who re-establish him upon the throne two years after.	Lathyrus is recalled.
3919	85	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionsus, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.	
3921	83	The Syrians, weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy.	
3922	82	Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.	Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.
3923	81		Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.
3928	76		Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.
3935	69	Tigranes recalls Antiochus Asiaticus Magdalis, his viceroy in Syria, takes possession of Syria, and reigns four years.	His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as is also Cyrenaica the same year.
3939	65	Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.	Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes, Lathyrus's natural son, is set in his place.
<i>Egypt.</i>			
3946	58	The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that island. Cato is charged with that commission.	
		Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.	
3949	55	Gabinus and Antony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions.	
3953	51	Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son, and his eldest daughter the famous Cleopatra.	
3956	48	Ponthinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.	
3957	47	Death of the king of Egypt. Caesar places Cleopatra upon the throne, with Ptolemy her young brother.	

<i>A. M. A. C.</i>		<i>Egypt.</i>		
3961	43	Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.		
3963	41	Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant over him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.		
3971	33	Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children. Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.		
3973	31	Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar.		
3974	30	Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.		
		<i>Cappadocia.</i>	<i>Parthian Empire.</i>	<i>Pontus.</i>
3490	514			The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king of it. His successors, down to Mithridates, are little known.
3600	404			Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.
3638	366			Ariobarzanes. He reigns 26 years.
3644	360	Ariarathes I. was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holofernes.		Mithridates II. He reigns 35 years.
3667	337			
3668	336			
3689	315			
3702	302	Ariarathes III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes.		Mithridates III. He reigns 36 years. The reigns of the three kings who succeed him, include the space of an hundred years. The last of them was Mithridates IV. great grandfather of Mithridates the Great.
3720	284	Ariamnes.		
		Ariarathes IV.		
3754	250		Arsaces I. founder of the Parthian Empire.	
			Arsaces II. brother of the first.	
			Priapatius.	
			Phraates I.	
3814	190	Ariarathes V.		
3819	185			Pharnaces, son of Mithridates IV.
3840	164		Mithridates I.	
3842	162	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator.		
3873	131		Phraates II.	

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Cappadocia.</i>	<i>Parthian Empire.</i>	<i>Pontus.</i>
3856	148	Ariarathes VII.	Artabanus. After a very short reign, he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns 40 years.	Mithridates V. surnamed Euergetes.
3875	129			Mithridates VI. surnamed the Great.
3881	123			Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son king of it.
3913	91	Ariarathes VIII. Mithridates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after, Ariarathes IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father.	Mnaschires, and after him Sinatroces. These two princes reign about 20 years.	Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans. Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day. Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens and most of the cities of Greece. Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege. Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Chæronea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenus. Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war. Mithridates puts his son to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than three years. Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius. Beginning of the third war of Mithridates a-
3914	90	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		
3915	89	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates.		
3916	88			
3917	87			
3918	86			
3920	84			
3921	83			
3926	78	Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very short one of his son, continues		
3928	76			
3929	75			

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Cappadocia.</i>	<i>Parthian Empire.</i>	<i>Pontus.</i>
		down to about the year 3953.		<p>gainst the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army.</p> <p>Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid.</p> <p>Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus.</p> <p>Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cabiræ. He retires to Tigranes.</p> <p>Lucullus declares war against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.</p> <p>Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.</p> <p>Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in consequence of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.</p> <p>Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.</p> <p>Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.</p> <p>Pompey makes himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up.</p> <p>Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.</p>
3930	74			
3931	73			
3933	71			
3934	70			
3935	69		Phraates III. who assumes the surname of the God.	
3936	68			
3937	67			
3938	66			
3939	65			
3948	56		Mithridates, eldest son of Phraates.	
3950	54		Orodes.	
			Unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Parthians.	
3953	51	Ariobarzanes III. He is put to death by Cassius.		
3962	42	Ariarathes X.	Ventidius, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Par-	
3973	31	M. Antony drives Ariarathes out of Cap-		

A. M.	A. C.	Cappadocia.	Parthian Empire.	Pontus.
		padocia, and sets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was reduced into a Roman province.	thians, which retrieves the honour they had lost at the battle of Carræ.	
		<i>Syracuse.</i>		<i>Carthage.</i>
3501	503	Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295; before Christ 709.		Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158; before Christ 846. First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was concluded: But what year they did so is not known.
3520	484	Gelon's beginning.		The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.
3523	481			The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.
3525	479	Gelon is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns 5 or 6 years.		
3532	472	Hiero I. He reigns 11 years.		
3543	461	Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects.		
3544	460	The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years.		
3589	415	The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely.		The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal, to aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans.
3592	412			
3593	411	Beginning of Dionysius the elder.		Hannibal and Imilcon are sent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum.
3595	409			
3598	406	Dionysius, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo.		
3600	404	Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius, upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person.		The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Syracuse.</i>	<i>Carthage.</i>
3600	404	New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.	
3605	399	Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.	
3607	397	Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by a herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage.	Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.
3615	389	Dionysius takes Regium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.	
3632	372	Death of Dionysius the elder. His son, Dionysius the younger, succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court. Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.	
3643	361	Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant with open force.	
3644	360	Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.	
3646	358	Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months.	
3647	357	Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years.	
3654	350	Dionysius reinstated.	Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
3656	348	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans.
3657	347	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself, and to retire to Corinth.	Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.
3658	346	Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great.
3672	332		
3685	319	Agathocles makes himself tyrant of Syracuse.	

<i>A. M. A. C.</i>	<i>Syracuse.</i>	<i>Carthage.</i>
3685 319		Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa.
3724 280	A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery.	The Carthaginians send the Romans aid, under Mago, against Pyrrhus.
3727 277	Hiero and Artemidorus are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.	
3729 275	Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.	
3736 268	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It subsists twenty-four years.
3741 263		The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city, after a siege of seven months.
3743 261		Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the coast of Myle.
3745 259		Sea-fight near Ecnomus in Sicily.
3749 255		Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner.
3750 254		Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.
3755 249		Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.
3756 248		Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans.
3763 241	Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries.	Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates, followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the first Punic war.
3767 237		War of Libya against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists three years and four months.
3776 228		The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.
3784 220		Amilcar is killed in Spain. Asdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army.
3786 218	Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.	Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal.
3787 217		Asdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his stead.
3788 216		Siege of Saguntum.
		Beginning of the second Punic war, which subsists seventeen years.
		Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battle of Ticinus and Trebia.
		Battle of Thrasymenus.

<i>A. M. A. C.</i>		<i>Syracuse.</i>	<i>Carthage.</i>
3788	216		Hannibal deceives Fabius at the straits of Cassilinum. Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.
3789	215	Death of Hiero. Hieronymus his grandson succeeds him. Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse.	Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.
3790	214		Asdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios.
3792	212	Marcellus takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years.	
<i>Carthage.</i>			
3793	211	The two Scipios are killed in Spain. The Romans besiege Capua.	
3794	210	Hannibal advances to Rome, and besieges it. The Romans soon after take Capua.	
3798	206	Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other consul Nero had joined.	
3799	205	Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa.	
3802	202	Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.	
3803	201	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.	
3804	200	Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war. Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second and the beginning of the third Punic war.	
3810	194	Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised that office two years, he retires to King Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.	
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Alexander enters Syria, v. 69. The treasures laid up in Damascus are delivered to him, 70. Darius writes him a letter in the most haughty terms, 71. He answers it in the same style, 72. The city of Sidon opens its gates to him, 73. He besieges Tyre, 75, &c. After a long siege, he takes that place by storm, 90. He receives a second letter from Darius, 100. He marches to Jerusalem, 101. Honours paid by him to the high-priest Jaddus, 104. He enters Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there, 105. Daniel's prophecies relating to him are shown him, *ibid.* He grants great privileges to the Jews, 112; and refuses the same to the Samaritans, 113. He besieges and takes Gaza, *ibid.*; enters Egypt, 115; makes himself master of it, 116; and begins to build Alexandria, 118. He goes into Libya, 119; visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, 120; and causes himself to be declared the son of that god, *ibid.* He returns to Egypt, 121.

Alexander, on his return to Egypt, resolves to advance against Darius, v. 122. On setting out, he is informed

of the death of that prince's wife, 123. He causes her to be interred with very great magnificence, *ibid.* He passes the Euphrates, 125; then the Tigris, 126. He comes up with Darius, and gains a great battle, near Arbela, 139. He takes Arbela, 140; Babylon, 142; Susa, 146; subdues the Uxii, 151, &c.; seizes the pass of Susa, 153; arrives at Persepolis, of which he makes himself master, 154, &c.; and burns the palace of that city in a drunken frolic, 156.

Alexander pursues Darius, v. 158. Bessus's treatment of that prince makes him hasten his march, 160. Alexander's grief on seeing the body of Darius, who had just before expired, 163. He sends it to Sysigambis, *ibid.* He marches against Bessus, 171. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to see him, 174. He abandons himself to pleasure and excess, *ibid.* He continues his march against Bessus, 179. He puts Philotas to death upon suspicion of having entered into a conspiracy against him, 187; and Parmenio his father, *ibid.* He subdues several nations, 189. He arrives in Bactriana, 190. His cruel treatment of the Branchidæ, 191. Bessus is brought to him, *ibid.*

Alexander takes many cities in Bactriana, v. 192, &c.; and builds one near the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name, 194. He marches against the Sogdians, who had revolted, and destroys many of their cities, *ibid.* The Scythians send ambassadors to him, who speak with extraordinary freedom, 197. He passes the Iaxartes, 200; gains a victory over the Scythians, 201; and treats the conquered favourably, *ibid.* He quells a revolt of the Sogdians, 202. He sends Bessus to Ecbatana, to be punished, 203. He takes the city of Petra, 204, &c. He abandons himself to the pleasure of hunting, in which he is in great danger, 208. He gives Clitus the command of the provinces which had been formerly under Artabasis, *ibid.* He invites that officer to a feast, and kills him, 211. He undertakes various expeditions, 215. He marries Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, 216. He resolves to march into India, and makes prepa-

rations for setting out, 217. He endeavours to make his courtiers adore him after the Persian manner, *ibid.* He puts the philosopher Callisthenes to death, 221.

Alexander sets out for India, v. 223. He takes many cities there that seemed impregnable, and frequently endangers his life, 229, &c. He grants Taxilus his protection, 235. He passes the river Indus, and then the Hydaspes, 236; and gains a famous victory over Porus, 241. He restores that prince to his kingdom, 244. He builds Nicæa and Bucephalia, *ibid.* He advances into India, and subjects many nations, 246. He forms the design of penetrating as far as the Ganges, 252. General murmur of his army, *ibid.* He renounces that design, and gives orders to prepare for returning, 256. Excess of vanity which he shows in giving thanks to the gods, 257.

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Alexander enters Babylon, notwithstanding the sinister predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers, v. 286. He celebrates Hephæstion's funeral with extraordinary magnificence, 289. He forms various designs of expeditions and conquests, 292. He sets people at work upon repairing the banks of the Euphrates, 293; and rebuilding the temple of Belus, 295. He abandons himself to excessive drinking, which occasions his death, 297, &c. Pomp of his funeral, 358. His body is carried to Alexandria,

361. Judgment to be passed on Alexander, 302. Character of that prince, 303, &c. Daniel's prophecies concerning Alexander, 105, &c.

Alexander, son of Alexander the Great, is elected king, v. 336. Cassander first deprives that prince of the sovereignty, 403; then puts him to death, 436.

Alexander, son of Cassander, disputes the crown of Macedonia with his brother Antipater, vi. 12. He is killed by Demetrius, whom he had called in to his aid, 13.

Alexander I. king of Epirus, marries Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, king of Macedonia, iv. 491.

Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against Demetrius Soter, vii. 359. He ascends the throne of Syria, 362. He marries Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, *ibid.* He abandons himself to voluptuousness, 363. Ptolemy declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, 365. Alexander perishes, *ibid.*

Alexander Zebina dethrones Demetrius king of Syria, vii. 398. He is defeated by Antiochus Grypus, and soon after killed, 401.

Alexander I. son of Physcon, is placed upon the throne of Egypt, vii. 412. He causes his mother Cleopatra to be put to death, 419. He is expelled by his subjects, and perishes soon after, 420.

Alexander II. son of Alexander I. reigns in Egypt after the death of Lathyrus, vii. 422. He marries Cleopatra, called Berenice, and kills her nineteen days after, *ibid.* The Alexandrians dethrone him, 430. He dies, and declares at his death the Roman people his heirs, 431.

Alexander Jannæus reigns in Judæa, viii. 4. He attacks the inhabitants of Ptolemais, vii. 412. Lathyrus marches to the aid of that city, and defeats Alexander near the Jordan, 413, &c. Alexander's revenge upon Gaza, viii. 5. Quarrel between that prince and the Pharisees, vii. 430. Gross affront that he receives at the feast of tabernacles, viii. 6. Vengeance which he takes for it, 7. Civil war between that prince and his subjects, *ibid.* After having terminated it, he abandons himself to feasting, and dies, 8.

Alexander makes himself tyrant of Phe-

- ræ, iv. 308. He endeavours to subject the people of Thessaly, *ibid.* Pelopidas reduces him to reason, 309. He seizes Pelopidas by treachery, and puts him in prison, 311. Epaminondas obliges him to release his prisoner, 315. He is defeated near Cynoscephalæ, 316. Tragical end of that tyrant, 320. His diversions, 314.
- Alexander*, son of *Ætropus*, forms a conspiracy against *Alexander the Great*, v. 38. He is put to death, 39.
- Alexander*, son of *Polysperchon*, accepts the office of governor-general of *Peloponnesus*, v. 405. He is killed in *Sicyon*, *ibid.*
- Alexander*, governor of *Persia* for *Antiochus the Great*, vi. 220. He revolts, and makes himself sovereign in his province, *ibid.* He perishes miserably, 226.
- Alexander*, deputy from the *Ætolians* to the assembly of the allies held at *Tempe*, vi. 385.
- Alexander*, pretended son of *Perseus*, is driven out of *Macedonia*, where he had usurped the throne, vii. 307.
- Alexander*, son of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, viii. 270.
- Alexandra*, wife of *Alexander Jannæus*, reigns over the Jewish nation, vii. 421, &c.
- Alexandria*, a city of *Egypt*, built by *Alexander the Great*, v. 118. Famous libraries of *Alexandria*, vi. 26, &c. Fate of those libraries, 27, &c.
- Alexandria*, built by *Alexander the Great*, upon the *Taxartes*, v. 194.
- Alexis*, governor of the citadel of *Apamæa*, betrays *Epigenes*, *Antiochus's* general, vi. 225.
- Algebra*, that science is part of the mathematics, and ought not to be neglected, viii. 95.
- Allobroges*, extent of their country, i. 252.
- Alps*, mountains famous for *Hannibal's* passing them, i. 253.
- Amasis*, officer of *Apries*, is proclaimed king of *Egypt*, i. 107. He is confirmed in the possession of the kingdom by *Nabuchodonosor*, *ibid.* He defeats *Apries*, who marched against him, takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, 109. He reigns peaceably in *Egypt*, 111. His method for acquiring the respect of his subjects, *ibid.* His death, 113. His body is taken out of his tomb, and burnt by order of *Cambyses*, ii. 250.
- Ambassadors*. Fine example of disinterestedness in certain Roman ambassadors, vi. 106.
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- Amestris*, wife of *Nerxes*. Barbarous and inhuman revenge of that princess, iii. 74, &c.
- Amisus*, city of *Asia*, besieged by *Lucullus*, viii. 182. The engineer *Callimachus*, who defended it, sets it on fire, and burns it, 187.
- Ammonians*, ii. 250. Famous temple of that people, v. 117.
- Amnesty*, famous one at *Athens*, iii. 411. Occasions when amnesties are necessary, 412.
- Amorges*, bastard of *Pisuthnes*, revolts against *Darius Nothus*, iii. 347. He is taken and sent into *Persia*, 348.
- Amosis*, king of *Egypt*. See *Thethmosis*.
- Amphares*, one of the Spartan *Ephori*, vi. 180. His treachery and cruelty to king *Agis*, *ibid.*
- Amphietyon*, king of *Athens*, ii. 361.
- Amphietyons*. Institution of that assembly, ii. 361; iv. 102. Their power, 103. Oath taken at their installation, 104. Their condescensions for Philip occasion the diminution of their authority, 105. Famous sacred war undertaken by order of this assembly, 422.
- Amphipolis*, city of *Thrace*, besieged by *Cleon*, general of the Athenians, iii. 265. Philip takes that city from the Athenians, and declares it free, iv. 409. It is soon after taken possession of by that prince, 412.
- Amyntas I.* king of *Macedonia*, submits to *Darius*, ii. 486.
- Amyntas II.* king of *Macedonia*, father of *Philip*, iv. 402. His death, 404.
- Amyntas*, son of *Perdiccas*, excluded from the throne of *Macedonia*, iv. 407.
- Amyntas*, deserter from *Alexander's* army, seizes the government of *Egypt*, v. 116. He is killed there, *ibid.*
- Amyntas*, one of *Alexander the Great's* officers, v. 144.
- Amyrteus*, one of the generals of the

- Egyptians**, who had revolted against Artaxerxes Longimanus, iii. 124. He is assisted by the Athenians, 144. He drives the Persians out of Egypt, and is declared king of it, 258. He dies, *ibid.*
- Amytis**, wife of Nabuchodonosor, ii. 71.
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- Anacreon**, Greek poet, ii. 434.
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- Anaxagoras**. His care of Pericles, iii. 132. His doctrine, 170.
- Anaxander**, king of Lacedæmonia, i. cxxiv.
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- Anaximenes**. In what manner he saved his country, v. 26.
- Andranodorus**, guardian of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, viii. 101. His strange abuse of his authority, 102. After the death of Hieronymus, he seizes part of Syracuse, 106. He forms a conspiracy for ascending the throne, 108. He is accused and put to death, 109.
- Andriscus** of Adramyttium pretends himself son of Perseus, and is declared king of Macedonia, vii. 287. He defeats the Roman army, commanded by the prætor Juventius, 290. He is twice defeated by Metellus, *ibid.* He is taken, and sent to Rome, *ibid.* He serves to adorn the triumph of Metellus, 321.
- Androcles**, son of Codrus, king of Athens, ii. 366.
- Andromachus**, governor of Syria and Palestine for Alexander, v. 123. Sad end of that governor, *ibid.*
- Andromachus**, father of Achæus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Euergetes, vi. 219. Ptolemy Philopator sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 230.
- Andronicus**, general of Antigonus, makes himself master of Tyre, v. 423. He is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, 428.
- Andronicus**, Perseus's officer, put to death, and why, vii. 221.
- Andronicus** of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Aristotle, viii. 172.
- Androthenes**, commander for Philip at Corinth, is defeated by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, vi. 388.
- Angels**. Opinions of the Pagans concerning them, iv. 8.
- Anicius**, Roman prætor, is charged with the war against Gentius, king of Illyria, vii. 228. He defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, 237. He receives the honour of a triumph, 270.
- Antalcidas**, Lacedæmonian, concludes with the Persians a peace disgraceful to the Greeks, iii. 509, &c.
- Antigona**, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, v. 182.
- Antigone**, the daughter-in-law of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, vi. 8.
- Antigonia**, city built by Antigonus, v. 392; and destroyed by Seleucus, vi. 4.
- Antigonus**, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, v. 337. Makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 373. Marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, 374. Becomes very powerful, 379. Revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres to them, 393. He is defeated by that captain, 410. Gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, 417; and causes him to perish in prison, 418. A league is formed against him, 420. He takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, 422; and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, 423. He marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 425. Concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 435. Forms the design of restoring liberty to Greece, 441. Besieges and takes Athens, 442, &c. Excessive honours paid him there, 446. He assumes the title of king, 455. Makes preparations to invade Egypt, 456. His enterprise is unsuccessful, 457. He loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it, 487.
- Antigonus Gonatas** offers himself as an hostage for Demetrius his father, vi. 23. Establishes himself in Macedonia, 60. Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 93. He retires into his maritime cities, *ibid.* Sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 99. Marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, *ibid.* Takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus,

- and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 103. Besieges Athens, 107; and takes it, 109. His death, 135.
- Antigonus Doson*, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, vi. 143. The Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 194. He occasions their gaining several advantages, 197, &c. He is victorious in the famous battle of Selasia against Cleomenes, 206. Makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 211. Marches against the Illyrians, and dies, after having gained a victory over them, 213.
- Antigonus*, nephew of Antigonus Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, vii. 116. Philip's intentions in respect to him, 118.
- Antigonus*, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, vii. 234.
- Antigonus*, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Ituræa, viii. 3. At his return his brother puts him to death, 4.
- Antigonus*, son of Aristobulus II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, viii. 18. Is set upon the throne of Judæa, 19. Is besieged in Jerusalem, 20. Surrenders, and is put to death, *ibid*.
- Antimachus*, officer in the army of Perseus, vii. 212.
- Antioch*, city built by Seleucus, upon the Orontes, vi. 4.
- Antiochus*, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, iii. 372.
- Antiochus I.* surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice, his father's wife, vi. 49. He endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 112. Is defeated by Eumenes, *ibid*. Puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, *ibid*.
- Antiochus II.* surnamed Theos, ascends the throne of Syria, vi. 113. Delivers Miletus from tyranny, *ibid*. Carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 116. The provinces of the East revolt against him, *ibid*. He loses most of those provinces, 118. Makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice, the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, *ibid*. He repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 128. Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 129.
- Antiochus Hierax* commands in Asia Minor, vi. 129. He enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 134. Declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 136. Is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, 137. Retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 138. Takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him, *ibid*. Escapes from prison, and is assassinated by robbers, 139.
- Antiochus III.* surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, vi. 220. Fidelity of Achæus towards him, *ibid*. He appoints Hermias his prime minister, *ibid*. Molo and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, *ibid*. He marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 222. Sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 223. Marches against the rebels, and reduces them, 226. Rids himself of Hermias, 228. Marches into Cœle-syria, and takes Seleucia, 231; Tyre and Ptolemais, 232. Makes a truce with Ptolemy, 233. The war breaks out again, 234. Antiochus gains many advantages, 235. Loses a great battle at Raphia, 237. Makes peace with Ptolemy, 238. Turns his arms against Achæus, who had revolted, 239. Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, 241. Expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 330; Parthia, 332; Hyrcania, *ibid*.; Bactriana, 333; and even into India, 334. He enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 339; and seizes Cœle-syria and Palestine, *ibid*. Makes war against Attalus, 360. Upon the remonstrances of the Romans he retires, *ibid*. He recovers Cœle-syria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, 361. Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, 363. Takes some places there, 396. An embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that head, 397. Hannibal retires to him, 401. The arrival of that general determines him to engage in a war with the Ro-

mans, 414. He marches against the Persians, and subjects them, 418. Goes to Greece at the request of the Etolians, 431. Attempts to bring over the Achæans in vain, 432; and afterwards the Boeotians, 436. Makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, *ibid.* The Romans declare war against him, 437. He makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 439. Goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of the person in whose house he lodges, *ibid.* Seizes the straits of Thermopylæ, 440. Is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 442. On his return to Ephesus, he ventures a sea-fight, and loses it, vii. 3. His fleet gains some advantage over the Rhodians, 5. He loses a second battle at sea, 6. Conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 8. He makes proposals of peace, 11; which are rejected, 12. Loses a great battle near Magnesia, 17, &c. Demands peace, 19. Obtains it, and on what conditions, 20. In order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 49. He is killed, *ibid.* Character of Antiochus, *ibid.* Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, 50.

Antiochus, the eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, vi. 419. Character of that young prince, 420.

Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as a hostage, vii. 21. He ascends the throne of Syria, 124. Dispute between that prince and the king of Egypt, 127. He marches towards Egypt, 128; and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, 129; then a second, 131. He makes himself master of Egypt, 132; and takes the king himself, *ibid.* Upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, 133; besieges and takes Jerusalem, *ibid.* where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, *ibid.* &c. Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 135. Replaces Ptolemy Philometor upon the throne, and with what view, 137. Returns to Syria, *ibid.* Comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 140. Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, 141.

Antiochus, incensed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, vii. 143. He orders Apol-

lonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, *ibid.* Cruelties committed there by that general, *ibid.* Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, 144. Enters Judæa, and commits horrible cruelties, 147, &c. Celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 153. Several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 154. He goes to Persia, attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, 161. Upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judæa, he sets out instantly with design to exterminate the Jews, *ibid.* He is struck by the hand of God on his way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, 162. Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 164.

Antiochus V. called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, vii. 342. He continues the war with the Jews, 343. His generals and himself in person are defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 345. He makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 347. Romans discontented with Eupator, 353. His soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 355.

Antiochus VI. surnamed Theos, is placed upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, vii. 370. He is assassinated soon after, 372.

Antiochus VII. surnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, vii. 377. He dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 378. Marches into Judæa, 389. Besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, *ibid.* The city capitulates, 390. He turns his arms against Parthia, 391; where he perishes, 392. An adventure of this prince in hunting, 393.

Antiochus VIII. surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, vii. 401. He marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon, king of Egypt, *ibid.* Defeats and expels Zebina, *ibid.* His mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, 402. Antiochus reigns some time in peace, *ibid.* War between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 404. The two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 407.

- Grypus marries Selene, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 416. He is assassinated by one of his vassals, *ibid.*
- Antiochus IX.* surnamed the Cyziceni-an, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, vii. 404. He marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, 405. After several battles, he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 407. He goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in that war, 408. After his brother's death, he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 417. He loses a battle against Seleucus the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, 418.
- Antiochus X.* surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyziceni-an, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and deposes Seleucus, vii. 418. He gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brother of Seleucus, *ibid.* Marries Selene, the widow of Grypus, 419. Is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, *ibid.* By their aid he returns into Syria, *ibid.* He is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 421.
- Antiochus XI.* son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, vii. 418. He is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, *ibid.*, &c.
- Antiochus XII.* surnamed Dionysius, seizes Cœle-syria, and reigns a very short time, vii. 419.
- Antiochus XIII.* called Asiaticus, sent by Selene, his mother, to Rome, vii. 423. On his return he passes through Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, 424. He reigns some time in Syria, 429. Pompey deprives him of his dominions, *ibid.*
- Antipas*, or Antipater, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judæa, viii. 12, &c. He sends troops to aid Cæsar, besieged in Alexandria, 257.
- Antipater*, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, v. 24. He defeats the Lacedæmonians, who had revolted against Macedonia, 169. Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 284. Suspicions entertained of Antipater in respect to Alexander's death, 299. Antipater's expeditions into Greece after Alexander's death, 344. He is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, 346. He surrenders that place by capitulation, 347. He seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 349. He puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 350. He gives Phila, his daughter, to Craterus in marriage, 357. He is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia, in the room of Perdiccas, 370. Death of Antipater, 377.
- Antipater*, eldest son of Cassander, vi. 12. Dispute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, *ibid.* He kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, *ibid.* Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, 13. He retires into Thrace, and dies there, *ibid.*
- Antiphon*, courtier of Dionysius, witty saying which cost him his life, iv. 185.
- Antony* (Mark) contributes by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, viii. 243, &c. When triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 261. His passion for that princess, *ibid.* Her ascendant over him, 263. She carries him with her to Alexandria, 264. Antony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 266. Makes some expeditions against the Parthians, 267; then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, 268. His injurious treatment of Octavia, 269. Makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 270. Celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, *ibid.* Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony, 271. Antony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 277. Is entirely defeated in a sea-fight, off Actium, 278. All his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, *ibid.* He returns to Alexandria, 279. Sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, *ibid.* Seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends to challenge Cæsar to a single combat, 283. Believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 284. He expires in Cleopatra's arms,

- ibid.* That princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 286.
- Anysis*, king of Egypt, i. 91.
- Aornos*, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 232.
- Apame*, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magas, vi. 116.
- Apaturia*: Feast celebrated at Athens, iii. 381.
- Apaturius*, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, vi. 219. He is put to death, *ibid.*
- Apega*, an infernal machine, invented by Nabis, vi. 328.
- Apelles*, courtier of Philip, vi. 257. Abuses his power, *ibid.* Endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, 258. Perishes miserably, 275.
- Apelles*, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, vii. 113. After the death of Demetrius he escapes into Italy, 117.
- Apelles*, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, vi. 146. Mattathias kills him with all his followers, *ibid.*
- Apellicon*, an Athenian, library erected by him at Athens, viii. 172.
- Apis*, an ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, i. 42. Killed by Cambyzes, ii. 253.
- Apis*, king of Argos, ii. 359.
- Apollon*. Temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, i. xliv.
- Apollocrates*, eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse, in the room of his father, iv. 222. Surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 232.
- Apollodorus*, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, v. 144.
- Apollodorus*, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, viii. 250.
- Apollodorus*, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannæus, viii. 5. He is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, 6.
- Apollonides*, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, v. 372. Is seized and put to death, *ibid.*
- Apollonides*, magistrate of Syracuse, viii. 112. His wise discourse in the assembly of the people, *ibid.*
- Apollonius*, a lord in the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, vii. 128; then to Rome, *ibid.* Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 143. His cruelties there, *ibid.* Is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in the battle, 154.
- Apollonius*, governor of Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, vii. 364. He forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometer, 365.
- Apollonphanes*, physician of Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, vi. 227. Salutory advice which he gives Antiochus, 230.
- Appius* (Claudius), Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, i. 197. Defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, 198.
- Appius* (Claudius), Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, vi. 74.
- Appius* (Claudius), Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beaten near Uscana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, vii. 212.
- Apries* ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 104. Success of that prince, *ibid.* Zedekiah, king of Judah, implores his aid, *ibid.* He declares himself protector of Israel, 105. Egypt revolts against him, 107; and sets Amasis on the throne, *ibid.* He is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, *ibid.* Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 109.
- Aquilius* (Manius), Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, viii. 151.
- Arabians* (Nabathæan), character of that people, v. 431.
- Aracus*, Lacedæmonian admiral, iii. 386.
- Araspes*, a Median nobleman, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, ii. 162. Passion which he conceives for that princess, 163. Goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, *ibid.* Does that prince great service in going as a spy amongst the Assyrians, *ibid.*
- Aratus*, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicily, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, vi. 146. Delivers that city from the

- tyranny, *ibid.*; and unites it with the Achæan league, 147. He appeases a sedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 151, &c. Is elected general of the Achæans, 152. Takes Corinth from Antigonus, 157, &c. Makes several cities enter into the Achæan league, 158. Has not the same success at Argos, 162. Marches against the Ætolians, 176. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains several advantages over him, 186. Aratus's envy of that prince, 191. Calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, 193. Marches against the Ætolians, and is defeated near Caphyæ, 245. Philip's affection for Aratus, 246. Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 260. He is declared innocent, 261. Accompanies Philip into Ætolia; his expeditions against the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans, 264. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 286. His funeral solemnized magnificently, *ibid.*
- Aratus* the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, vi. 255. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 287.
- Arbaces*, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of Media, ii. 81.
- Arbaces*, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon, against his brother Cyrus, iii. 428.
- Arbela*, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, v. 140.
- Arcesilus*, Alexander's lieutenant; provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, v. 337.
- Archagathus*, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 191. Perishes there miserably, *ibid.*
- Archilaus* governor of Susa for Alexander, v. 147.
- Archelaus*, general for Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, vi. 156. Aratus sets him at liberty, 158.
- Archelaus*, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, viii. 153. Is driven out of it by Sylla, 158. Is defeated by the same captain, first at Chæronea, 161; and then at Orchomenus, 164. Escapes to Chalcis, 165; and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 167. Archelaus goes over to Murena, 174. Engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ibid.*
- Archelaus*, son of the former, is made high-priest and sovereign of Comana, viii. 227. Marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 242. Is killed in a battle with the Romans, 243.
- Archelaus*, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, viii. 73. Marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, *ibid.*
- Archelaus*, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, viii. 74. Tiberius does him great services with Augustus, *ibid.* Draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, 75. Is cited to Rome, and why, 76. Is very ill received there, *ibid.* Dies soon after, *ibid.*
- Archias*, a Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, iii. 195.
- Archias*, a Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the Bæotarchs, iv. 277.
- Archias*, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides, and several other persons, to Antipater, v. 353.
- Archibius*, his attachment to Cleopatra, viii. 290.
- Archidamia*, Lacedæmonian lady; heroic action of hers, vi. 96. She is put to death by order of Amphares, 182.
- Archidamus*, king of Sparta, iii. 140. Saves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the Helots, 142. Commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 207. Besieges Plateæ, 225.
- Archidamus*, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Archadians, iv. 303. His valour during the siege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 322. Reigns in Sparta, 346.
- Archidamus*, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, vi. 183. Cleomenes recalls him, 187. He is assassinated in returning home, *ibid.*
- Archidamus*, ambassador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, vi. 434.
- Archilochus*, Greek poet, inventor of Iambic verses, ii. 428. Character of his poetry, *ibid.*
- Archimedes*, famous geometrician, viii.

94. Invents many machines of war,
 95. Prodigious effects of those machines, 116, 117. Is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 131. His tomb discovered by Cicero, *ibid*.
Archon, one of Alexander's officers; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, v. 337.
Archon is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, vii. 214. Wise resolution which he makes that people take, 216.
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Ardis, king of Lydia, ii. 120.
Arcopagus, its establishment, iv. 94. Authority of that senate, 95. Pericles weakens its authority, 97.
Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, submits to Pompey, viii. 231.
Arcte, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, iv. 189. During the banishment of the latter she is married to Timocrates, 212. Dion receives her again, 233. Her death, 237.
Arethusa, a fountain famous in fabulous history, iii. 303.
Areus, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, vii. 66. The Achæans condemn him to die, 70. His sentence is annulled by the Romans, 73.
Areus, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, vi. 94.
Arens, another king of Sparta, vi. 165.
Argus is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, iv. 407. Is defeated by Philip, 410.
 The *Argillian*, a name given to the slave who discovered Pausanias's conspiracy, iii. 88.
Arginusa, isles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, iii. 377.
Argo, king of Lydia, ii. 118.
Argos, foundation of that kingdom, ii. 359. Kings of Argos, *ibid*. War between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, i. cvii. They refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, iii. 486. Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, vi. 102. Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 162; but without success, *ibid*. Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 197; and afterwards by Antigonus, 198.
 Argos surrenders to Philocles, one of Philip's generals, 372. The latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 375. It throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and re-establishes its liberty, 409.
Argus, king of Argos, ii. 359.
Aricus, of Alexandria, philosopher; Augustus Cæsar's esteem for him, viii. 286.
Arius commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 429. He flies upon advice of that prince's death, 432. The Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 439. Refuses it, and makes a treaty with them, 440.
Ariamnes, an Arabian, deceives and betrays Crassus, viii. 36.
Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, viii. 65.
Ariarathes I. king of Cappadocia, viii. 64.
Ariarathes II. son of the former, reigns over Cappadocia, viii. 64. He is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who seizes his dominions, and puts him to death, 65.
Ariarathes III. escapes into Armenia after his father's death, viii. 65. He ascends the throne of his ancestors, *ibid*.
Ariarathes IV. king of Cappadocia, viii. 65.
Ariarathes V. marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, vi. 138. The Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father-in-law, vii. 48. He sends his son to Rome, and with what view, 186. Declares for the Romans against Perseus, 188. Death of Ariarathes, 291.
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Ariarathes VII. reigns in Cappadocia, viii. 69. His brother-in-law Mithridates causes him to be assassinated, *ibid*.
Ariarathes VIII. is placed upon the

- throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, viii. 69. He is assassinated by that prince, *ibid.*
- Ariarathes IX.* king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, viii. 69.
- Ariarathes X.* ascends the throne of Cappadocia, viii. 73. Sisinna disputes the possession of it with him, and carries it against him, *ibid.* Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, 74.
- Ariarathes*, son of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, viii. 145. He is dethroned by the Romans, 146. Is reinstated a second, 147; and then a third time, 148.
- Ariaspes*, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, iv. 349.
- Aridæus*, bastard brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, v. 302. Olympias causes him to be put to death, v. 400.
- Arimanius*, a deity adored by the Persians, ii. 324.
- Arimases*, Sogdian, governor of Petra Oxiana, refuses to surrender to Alexander, v. 204. He is besieged in that place, 205. Submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 207.
- Ariobarzanes*, satrap of Phrygia, under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. cxxxv. Revolts against that prince, iv. 359.
- Ariobarzanes I.* is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, viii. 70. Is twice dethroned by Tigranes, *ibid.* Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, 71.
- Ariobarzanes II.* ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, viii. 71.
- Ariobarzanes III.* reigns in Cappadocia, viii. 71. Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, *ibid.* He sides with Pompey against Cæsar, 72. The latter lays him under contribution, *ibid.* He refuses an alliance with Cæsar's murderers, 73. Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Ariobarzanes*, governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from passing it, v. 151. He is put to flight, 153.
- Aristagoras* is established governor of Miletus by Histæus, ii. 486. Joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, 489. Goes to Lacedæmon for aid, 492; but ineffectually, 493. Goes to Athens, *ibid.* That city grants him some troops, 494. He is defeated and killed in a battle, 497.
- Aristander*, a soothsayer in the train of Alexander, v. 132.
- Aristazanes*, officer in the court of Ochus, iv. 379.
- Aristæas*, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, vi. 101.
- Aristenes*, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare for the Romans against Philip, vi. 367, &c.
- Aristides*, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, ii. 512. Distinguishes himself in the battle, 514. Is banished, 521. Recalled, iii. 27. Goes to Themistocles at Salamis, and persuades him to fight in that strait, 46. Rejects the offers of Mardonius, 56. Gains a famous victory over that general at Platææ, 64. Terminates a difference that had arisen between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 66. Confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 81. His condescension for that people, 82. He is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, 84. Conduct in that war, 85. He is charged with the administration of the public revenues, 93. His death and character, *ibid.*
- Aristides*, painter; his works greatly esteemed, vii. 317.
- Aristion* usurps the government at Athens, and acts with great cruelty, viii. 153. Besieged in that city by Sylla, *ibid.* Taken and put to death, 159.
- Aristippus*, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, iv. 15.
- Aristippus*, citizen of Argos, excites a sedition in that city, vi. 99. Becomes tyrant of it, 162. Killed in a battle, 163. Continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, 162.
- Aristobulus I.* son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high-priesthood and sovereignty of Judæa, viii. 2. Assumes the title of king, *ibid.* Causes his mother to be put to death, *ibid.*; then his brother Antigonus, 3. Dies soon after himself, 4.

- Aristobulus II.* son of Alexander Janneus, reigns in Judæa, viii. 12. Dispute between that prince and his brother Hyrcanus, 13. Pompey takes cognizance of it, *ibid.* Aristobulus's conduct makes him his enemy, 14. Pompey lays him in chains, 16; and sends him to Rome, 18.
- Aristocracy*, form of government, ii. 368.
- Aristocrates* commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, iii. 378.
- Aristodemus*, chief of the Heraclidæ, possesses himself of Peloponnesus, ii. 366.
- Aristodemus*, guardian of Agesipolis, king of Sparta, iii. 499.
- Aristodemus* of Miletus is left at Athens by Demetrius, v. 443.
- Aristogenes*, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginusæ, iii. 378.
- Aristogiton* conspires against the tyrants of Athens, ii. 418. His death, 419. Statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 421.
- Aristomache*, sister of Dion, is married to Dionysius the tyrant, iv. 163.
- Aristomachus*, tyrant of Argos, vi. 161. His death, 162.
- Aristomenes*, Messenian, offers his daughter to be sacrificed for appeasing the wrath of the gods, i. cxix. Carries the prize of valour at the battle of Ithome, cxxii. Elected king of the Messenians, *ibid.* Beats the Lacedæmonians, and sacrifices three hundred of them in honour of Jupiter of Ithome, *ibid.* Sacrifices himself soon after upon his daughter's tomb, cxxiii.
- Aristomenes*, second of that name, king of Messene, gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, i. cxxiv. Bold action of that prince, *ibid.* He is beaten by the Lacedæmonians, cxxvi. His death, *ibid.*
- Aristomenes*, Acarnanian, is charged with the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes, vi. 346. Quashes a conspiracy formed against that prince, 399. Ptolemy puts him to death, 400.
- Ariston* of Syracuse, comedian, discovers the conspiracy formed by Andranodorus against his country, viii. 108.
- Ariston*, pilot: Counsel which he gives the Syracusans, iii. 336.
- Aristonicus* possesses himself of the dominions of Attalus, vii. 386. Defeats the consul Crassus Mucianus, and takes him prisoner, *ibid.* Beaten and taken by Perpenna, *ibid.* The consul sends him to Rome, *ibid.* Put to death there, 388.
- Aristophanes*, famous poet, i. xciii. Character of his poetry, *ibid.* &c. Faults with which he may justly be reproached, xciv. Extracts from some of his pieces, xcvi.
- Aristophon*, Athenian captain, accuses Iphicrates of treason, iv. 362.
- Aristotle*. Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, iv. 415; v. 4. His application in forming that prince, v. 5. Suspicions of him in respect to the death of Alexander, 299. Fate of his works, viii. 172.
- Armenes*, son of Nabis, goes a hostage to Rome, vi. 413.
- Armenia*, province of Asia, i. xxvi. It was governed by kings, cxxxvi.
- Arms*, used by the ancient Persians, ii. 294.
- Arphaxad*, name given by the Scripture to Phraortes. See *Phraortes*.
- Arrichion*, Pancratiast: Combat of that athleta, i. lxiii.
- Arsaces*, son of Darius. See *Artaxerxes Mucmon*.
- Arsaces I.* governor of Parthia for Antiochus, revolts against that prince, vi. 117. He assumes the title of king, 140.
- Arsaces II.* king of Parthia, takes Media from Antiochus, vi. 330. Sustains a war with that prince, viii. 26. Comes to an accommodation with Antiochus, who leaves him in peaceable possession of his kingdom, *ibid.*
- Arsames*, natural son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is assassinated by his brother Ochus, iv. 349.
- Arses* reigns in Persia after the death of Ochus, iv. 384. Bagoas causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.*
- Arsinoë*, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, is married to Lysimachus, king of Thrace, vi. 5. After the death of that prince, her brother Ceraunus marries her, 52. Fatal sequel of that marriage, 53. She is banished into Samothracia, *ibid.*
- Arsinor*, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, vi. 109. Death of that princess, 123.
- Arsinoc*, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometor, vi. 236. Her death, 242.
- Arsinoc*, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes:

- Cæsar's sentence in her favour, viii. 251. She is proclaimed queen of Egypt, 253. Cæsar carries her to Rome, and makes her serve as an ornament in his triumph, 259. Antony, at the request of Cleopatra, causes her to be put to death, 263.
- Arsinoë*, wife of Magas. See *Apame*.
- Arsites*, satrap of Phrygia, occasions the defeat of the Persians at the Granicus, v. 28. Kills himself through despair, 31.
- Art*. See *Arts*.
- Artaban*, uncle of Phraates, causes himself to be crowned king of Parthia, and is killed soon after, vii. 395.
- Artabanes*, brother of Darius, endeavours to divert that prince from his enterprise against the Scythians, ii. 475. He is made arbiter between the two sons of Darius, in respect to the sovereignty, 525. His wise discourse to Xerxes upon that prince's design to attack Greece, iii. 4, &c.
- Artabanus*, the Hyrcanian, captain of the guards to Xerxes, conspires against that prince, and kills him, iii. 101. He is killed himself by Artaxerxes, 102.
- Artabazanes*, after the death of Darius, disputes the throne of Persia with Xerxes, ii. 524. Continues in amity with his brother, and loses his life in his service at the battle of Salamis, 526.
- Artabazanes*, king of Atropatene, submits to Antiochus, vi. 226.
- Artabazus*, a Persian lord, officer in the army of Mardonius, iii. 61. His counsel to that general, *ibid*. He escapes into Asia after the battle of Plataeæ, 64. Xerxes gives him the command of the coasts of Asia Minor, and with what view, 85. He reduces the Egyptians who had revolted against Artaxerxes, 123.
- Artabazus*, governor of one of the provinces of Asia for Ochus, revolts against that prince, iv. 356. Supported by Chares the Athenian, he gains several advantages, 357. He is overpowered, and retires into Macedonia, *ibid*. Ochus receives him again into favour, 382, &c. His fidelity to Darius, v. 161.
- Artageres*, officer of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is killed in the battle of Cunaxa, iii. 431.
- Artainta*, niece of Xerxes, iii. 74. Violent passion of that prince for her, *ibid*. Fatal sequel of that passion, 75.
- Artaphernes*, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, wishes to compel the Athenians to reinstate Hippias, ii. 423. Marches against the island of Naxos, with design to surprise it, 489. Besieged in Sardis by the Athenians, 494. Discovers the conspiracy of Histiaeus, 497. Marches against the revolted Ionians, 498.
- Artaphernes*, ambassador of Artaxerxes to the Lacedæmonians, iii. 250.
- Artarius*, brother of Artaxerxes Longimanus, iii. 126.
- Artavases*, king of Armenia, viii. 28.
- Artaxerxes I.* surnamed Longimanus, by the instigation of Artabanes, kills his brother Darius, and ascends the throne of Persia, iii. 102. Rids himself of Artabanes, 103. Destroys the party of Artabanes, 105; and that of Hystaspes his elder brother, 106. Gives Themistocles refuge, 109. His joy for the arrival of that Athenian, 110. Permits Ezra to return to Jerusalem first, and then Nehemiah, 128. Alarmed by the conquests of the Athenians, he forms the design of sending Themistocles into Attica at the head of an army, 119. Egypt revolts against him, 122. He compels it to return to its obedience, 124. Gives up Inarus to his mother, contrary to the faith of a treaty, 125. Concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 145. He dies, 251.
- Artaxerxes II.* surnamed Mnemon, is crowned king of Persia, iii. 399. Cyrus his brother attempts to murder him, *ibid*. Artaxerxes sends him back to his government of Asia Minor, 401. He marches against Cyrus advancing to dethrone him, 425; gives him battle at Cunaxa, 426; and kills him with his own hand, 432. He cannot force the Greeks in his brother's army to surrender themselves to him, 439. Puts Tissaphernes to death, 486. Concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 509. Attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, 513, &c. Judges the affair of Tiribasis, 523. His expedition against the Cadusians, 525, &c.
- Artaxerxes sends an ambassador into Greece to reconcile the states, iv. 304. Receives a deputation from the Greeks, *ibid*. Honours which he pays

- to Pelopidas, 305. He undertakes to reduce Egypt, 338. That enterprise miscarries, 340. He meditates a second attempt against Egypt, 342. Most of the provinces of his empire revolt against him, 346. Troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successor, 348. Death of that prince, 349.
- Artaxerxes III.* before called Ochus. See *Ochus*.
- Artaxias*, king of Armenia, vii. 155.
- Artemidorus* invested with the supreme authority at Syracuse, viii. 80.
- Artemisia*, queen of Halicarnassus, supplies Xerxes with troops in his expedition against Greece, iii. 21. Her courage in the battle of Salamis, 44.
- Artemisia*, wife of Mausolus, reigns in Caria after the death of her husband, iv. 370. Honours which she renders to the memory of Mausolus, *ibid.* She takes Rhodes, 372. Her death, 373.
- Artemisium*, promontory of Eubœa, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, iii. 36.
- Artemon*, Syrian. Part that queen Laodice makes him play, vi. 128.
- Artistona*, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius, ii. 448.
- Artoxares*, eunuch of Darius Nothus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, iii. 257. He is put to death, *ibid.*
- Arts*: Origin and progress of the arts, ii. 308. Arts banished from Sparta by Lycurgus, 394; and had in honour at Athens by Solon, 412.
- Artynphius*, son of Megabyzus, revolts against Ochus, iii. 254. He is suffocated in ashes, 255.
- Aruspices*. See *Augury*.
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- Asa*, king of Judah, defeats the army of Zara, king of Æthiopia, i. 91.
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- Hystaspes*, second son of Xerxes, is made governor of Bactriana, iii. 76. His remoteness from court makes way for his brother Artaxerxes to ascend the throne, 102. Artaxerxes undertakes to reduce him, 105; and entirely ruins his party, 106.
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- Mago*, Carthaginian general, is sent into Sicily to make war against Dionysius the Elder, iv. 168. After various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 177. He loses a great battle, and is killed in it, i. 173.
- Mago*, son of the former, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionysius the Elder, i. 173. The Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the Younger, 176. He shamefully abandons the conquest of Sicily, *ibid.* He returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, 177.
- Mago*, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus, i. 193. He goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, *ibid.*
- Mago*, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans, at the battle of Cannæ, to Carthage, i. 283.
- Mago*, Carthaginian general, is taken prisoner in Sardinia, i. 289.
- Maharbal*, Carthaginian officer, endeavours to persuade Hannibal to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, i. 281.
- Mahomet*. Vulgar report concerning his tomb, vi. 124.
- Malli*, a people of India; their war with Alexander, v. 258. They submit to that prince, 261.
- Mamertines*, people originally of Italy; they seize Messina, a city of Sicily, i. 196. They are defeated by Pyrrhus, vi. 87. A division arises amongst them, which occasions the first Punic war, i. 196.
- Man*. Wherein the science of knowing mankind consists, iii. 445. Men are the same in all ages, 448.
- Manasseh*, king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Esarhaddon, and carried captive to Babylon, ii. 90. He obtains his liberty, and returns to Jerusalem, 91.
- Mancinus* (L.), the consul Piso's lieutenant, engages rashly in a post, from whence Scipio happily extricates him, ii. 22.
- Mandane*, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia, ii. 117. She goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 136. She returns into Persia, 139.
- Mandanis*, an Indian philosopher, refuses to follow Alexander in his train, v. 250.
- Mandroclides*, a young Spartan, supports the party of Lysander the Ephorus, through zeal for the public good, vi. 171.
- Manethon*, Egyptian priest, author of the history of the dynasties of Egypt, i. 70.
- Mania*, wife of Zenis, is continued in the government of Æolia after the death of her husband, and causes herself to be admired for her conduct, iii. 469. She is assassinated with

- her son, by Midias, her son-in-law, 470.
- Manilius* (M.), consul, is sent against Carthage in the beginning of the first Punic war, ii. 12.
- Manilius*, tribune of the people, prepares a decree for appointing Pompey to command the armies against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, viii. 210.
- Manius Curius*, consul, gains a great victory over Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, vi. 91.
- Manius Aquilius*, consul, terminates the war against Aristonicus, vii. 386; and enters Rome in triumph, 387.
- Manlius* (L.) is appointed consul with Regulus, i. 201. They jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians near Ecnomus, in Sicily, *ibid.* They go to Africa, 202. Manlius is recalled, *ibid.*
- Mantineæ*, city of Arcadia, famous for the victory of Epaminondas over the Lacedæmonians, and for that of Philopœmen over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, vi. 320.
- Maracanda*, capital city of Sogdiana, submits to Alexander, v. 193.
- Marathon*, small city of Attica, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Persians, ii. 510.
- Marcellus* (M.), consul, is sent into Sicily to appease the troubles there, viii. 111. Actions of Marcellus in Sicily, 113. He forms the siege of Syracuse, 115. The considerable losses of men and ships, by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige him to turn the siege into a blockade, 121. He undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 125. He makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in the city, 127, &c. He abandons the city to be plundered, 130. Honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, 131. Marcellus, at first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, i. 286.
- Marcus* (L.), Roman knight, preserves Spain to the Romans by his valour, i. 293.
- Marcus*, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Persius near the river Peneus, vii. 191. He returns to Rome, 193. He is sent again into Greece, to regulate affairs there, 196.
- Marcus Philippus* (Q.), consul, is charged with the war against Perseus, vii. 214. He sets out from Rome, and advances towards Macedonia, 215. After great fatigues he penetrates into Macedonia, and takes several cities there, 216, &c.
- Mardonius*, son-in-law of Darius, enters Macedonia with an army, ii. 500. His ill success obliges Darius to recall him, *ibid.* He gives Xerxes flattering counsels, which induce him to invade Greece, iii. 2. Xerxes chooses him one of his generals, 21. That prince leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 49. He causes very advantageous offers to be made to the Athenians, which are rejected, 55. He enters Athens, and burns what had escaped when pillaged the year before, 57. He is defeated, and killed at the battle of Plataeæ, 63.
- Marc* of Phidolas, i. lxxiv.
- Mariamne*, grand-daughter of Aristobulus, marries Herod the Idumæan, vii. 21.
- Marius*, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed general, for terminating the war with Jugurtha, in his stead, ii. 52. He gets Jugurtha into his hands, and makes him serve as an ornament of his triumph, 54.
- Marius* (M.), Roman senator, is sent by Sertorius to the aid of Mithridates, viii. 177. He is taken by Lucullus and put to death, 182.
- Maronea*, city of Thrace. Cruel treatment of the inhabitants by Philip, vii. 67.
- Marriages*. Laws concerning them instituted at Athens and Sparta, ii. 409.
- Marseilles*, inhabitants of. Their embassy to Rome, vii. 297. Origin of the people of Marseilles, *ibid.* They settle in Gaul, 298. Wisdom of their government, 299. Their attachment to the Romans, 302. They obtain from the Romans the pardon of Phocæa, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 387.
- Masinissa*, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, ii. 2. He marries Sophonisba, and is soon obliged to send her poison, *ibid.* Contests between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, 3. He defeats them in a battle, 6. He

- dies; and at his death appoints Scipio Æmilianus guardian of his children, 20.
- Masistes*, son of Darius and Atossa, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, iii. 21. Tragical death of Masistes and his children, 76, &c.
- Massaga*, city of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 231.
- Massiva*, Numidian prince, is murdered in the midst of Rome by Jugurtha's orders, ii. 51.
- Mastanabal*, Masinissa's son, shares the kingdom of Numidia with his two brothers, after the death of their father, ii. 45.
- Matho*, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 225. He is placed at their head, *ibid.* He takes Hannibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 231. He is taken by the Carthaginians, who execute him, 232.
- Mattaniah* is placed upon the throne of Judah in the room of his nephew Jehonias, ii. 96.
- Mattathias*, Jew, of the sacerdotal race, refuses to obey the ordinances of Antiochus, vii. 146. He retires with his family into the mountains, to avoid the persecution, 147. Death of Mattathias, 152.
- Mausolus*, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, iv. 347. He subjects the Rhodians, and the people of Cos, 370. His death, *ibid.* Honours paid to his memory by Artemisia, his wife, *ibid.*
- Mazæus*, governor of Memphis for Darius, abandons that city to Alexander, v. 116. He commands the horse in the army of Darius at the battle of Arbela, 138. He surrenders himself, and the city of Babylon, to Alexander, 142. That prince gives him the government of Babylonia, 144.
- Mazarus*, a Macedonian lord, is appointed governor of the citadel of Susa, by Alexander, v. 147.
- Meals*: public ones instituted at Crete and Sparta, ii. 375.
- Mecænas*, favourite of Augustus, and patron of the learned, iii. 187.
- Medæa*, her means to escape the pursuit of her father, viii. 185.
- Medes*, ancient people of Asia, inhabiting Media, ii. 103. History of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians united, 198. Revolt of the Medes against Darius Nothus, iii. 258. That prince obliges them to return to their duty, *ibid.* Manners of the Medes, ii. 137. Manner in which they contracted alliances, 113.
- Media*, kingdom of Upper or Greater Asia, i. xxv. Description of that kingdom by Polybius, vi. 330.
- Medicine*. Origin and antiquity of medicines, ii. 314.
- Medon*, son of Codrus, is placed at the head of the commonwealth of Athens, under the title of Archon, ii. 362.
- Megabates*, a Persian nobleman, occasions the failure of the enterprise of the Persians against Naxos, through jealousy of Aristagoras, ii. 490.
- Megabyzus*, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Hystæus to build a city in Thrace, to be revoked, ii. 484. He sends deputies to demand earth and water of Amyntas, 436. Insolence of those deputies at the court of Amyntas, and revenge taken on them by the sons of that prince, *ibid.*
- Megabyzus*, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals of the army of Xerxes, iii. 21. He discovers the plot formed by Artabanes against Artaxerxes, 102. He is charged by that prince with the war against the revolted Egyptians, 123. He subjects the Egyptians, and promises to spare their lives, 124. Megabyzus, in despair on seeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of the treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, 126. He defeats two armies sent against him by that prince, *ibid.* He is restored to favour, and returns to court, *ibid.* Artaxerxes jealousy of Megabyzus at a hunting-match, *ibid.* Death of Megabyzus, 127.
- Megacles*, son of Alcmeon, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, ii. 413. His marriage with Agarista, daughter of Clisthenes, *ibid.* He drives Pisistratus out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 416. He is obliged to quit Athens, 417.
- Megacles*, friend of Pyrrhus, vi. 71. That prince in a battle gives his mantle and arms to Megacles, and disguises himself in his, 73. Megacles is wounded and unhorsed in the battle, *ibid.*

- Megadates* is appointed viceroy of Syria by Tigranes, and governs that kingdom fourteen years, vii. 421. Tigranes recalls him from thence, viii. 204.
- Megalcas*, Philip's general, devotes himself entirely to Apelles, that prince's minister, vi. 261. He insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 269. Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty upon giving security, *ibid.* His bad designs against Philip are discovered, 274. He kills himself to avoid a trial, and execution of sentence upon him, 275.
- Megalopolis*, city of Arcadia, iv. 379. Aratus makes it enter into the Achæan league, vi. 164.
- Megara*, city of Achaia, its foundation, ii. 366. That city enters into the Achæan league, vi. 158.
- Megistones*, Lacedæmonian captain, is sent by Cleomenes to the aid of Argos, and is killed fighting in that city, vi. 197.
- Melitus*, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, iv. 30. Success of that accusation, 39. He is condemned to die, 40.
- Melon*, Theban, is appointed Bæotarch with Pelopidas and Charon, iv. 278.
- Memnon*, Rhodian, recovers the favour of Ochus, against whom he had taken arms, iv. 382. He endeavours to prevent Darius's generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, v. 27. He throws himself into Miletus, and defends that place against Alexander, 34. He defends the city of Halicarnassus against that prince, 35. He transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, 36. He advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 40. That prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, *ibid.* Memnon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, *ibid.*
- Memnon*. Memnon's statue in Thebais: Wonders related of it, i. 3.
- Memphis*, city of Egypt: its foundation, i. 75. Taking of that city by Cambyses, ii. 249; and afterwards by Alexander, v. 116.
- Memphitis*, son of Physcon and Cleopatra, is murdered by his father, cut in pieces, and sent to his mother, vii. 396.
- Menander*, Athenian, is made colleague to Nicias, who had the command in Sicily, iii. 321. He forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is worsted, 326. Is partly the cause of the defeat of the Athenians near Ægospotamos, 390.
- Menander*, comic poet, change which he introduced in comedy, i. c.
- Menander*, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, v. 337.
- Mendes*, city of Egypt, iv. 345. A prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebus, *ibid.* He is defeated and taken prisoner by Agesilaus, *ibid.*
- Menecrates*, ridiculous vanity of that physician, iv. 497.
- Menelaus*, Ptolemy's brother, is defeated by Demetrius, and obliged to retire into Salamis, v. 451. He surrenders himself at discretion to Demetrius, who sends him to his brother without ransom, 454.
- Menelaus* supplants Jason, his brother, high-priest of the Jews, and obtains his office, vii. 129. Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, 133. Antiochus reinstates him in the high-priesthood, 134.
- Menes*, or *Misraim*, first king of Egypt, i. 72.
- Menon* commands the Thessalian troops of Cyrus's army in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, iii. 424. Tissaphernes seizes him, with the other Greek generals, by treachery, and puts him to death, 446. Menon's character, 448.
- Menostanes*, nephew to Artaxerxes Longimanus, is defeated and put to flight by Megabyzus, iii. 126.
- Mentor*, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebus into Phœnicia to support the rebels there, iv. 374. He is confounded on the approach of Ochus, 377. He puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, *ibid.* Ochus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, 379. Mentor's actions in Egypt, 380. Ochus makes him governor of all the coast of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, 382. Mentor's conduct in his government, *ibid.*
- Menyllus* commands the Macedonian garrison which Antipater puts into

- Munychia, v. 351. Cassander takes the command of that fortress from him, 361.
- Mercenaries.* War of the mercenaries against the Carthaginians, i. 222.
- Mercury*, Egyptian, to whom Egypt was indebted for the invention of almost all the arts, i. 78.
- Mericus*, Spaniard, delivers up one of the gates of Syracuse to Marcellus in the night, viii. 129.
- Mermnadae*, race of the kings of Lydia, ii. 118.
- Merodach-Baladan*, king of Babylon, sends ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health, ii. 85.
- Meroe*, daughter of Cyrus, becomes wife of her brother Cambyses, ii. 254. Tragical death of that princess, 255.
- Mesabates*, eunuch, cuts off the head and hand of Cyrus the Younger by order of Artaxerxes, 433. Punishment inflicted on him by Parysatis, 466.
- Messengers*, or *Letter-carriers*, established by the University of Paris, ii. 288.
- Messenia*, a country of Peloponnesus, i. cxviii.
- Messenians.* First war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, i. cxviii. The Messenians defeat the army of the Lacedæmonians near Ithome, cxix. &c. They submit to the Lacedæmonians, cxiii. Second war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, *ibid.* The Messenians are at first victorious, cxxiv.; then defeated, cxxvi. They are reduced to the condition of the Helots, *ibid.* They are reinstated by the Thebans, iv. 298. Troubles between the Messenians and Achæans, vii. 73. The Messenians put Philopæmen to death, 75. They are subjected by the Achæans, 76. Fault of the Messenians, which occasioned all their misfortunes, iv. 299.
- Messina*, or *Messana*, city of Sicily, i. 96.
- Metellus* (L.), consul, is charged with the war against Jugurtha, ii. 51. He is supplanted by Marius, 52. He enters Rome in triumph, 53.
- Metellus* (Q. Cæcilius), Roman prætor, defeats Andiscus, vii. 307; and sends him prisoner to Rome, *ibid.* He reduces another adventurer named Alexander, *ibid.*
- Metone*, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, iv. 426.
- Meton*, astronomer, counterfeits the madman, and wherefore, iii. 281.
- Metrodorus*, of Scepsis, goes ambassador for Mithridates to Tigranes, viii. 193. Mithridates puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Metrodorus*, painter and philosopher, is given to Paulus Æmilius by the Athenians for a tutor to his sons, vii. 262.
- Micipsa* succeeds his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia, ii. 45. He adopts Jugurtha, his nephew, and makes him co-heir with the rest of his children, 47. Micipsa's death, *ibid.*
- Micythus*, guardian of the children of Anaxilaus. Prudence of his administration, iii. 138.
- Midias*, son-in-law of Mania, assassinates his mother-in-law and her son, in order to possess himself of her riches and government, iii. 470. He is deprived of them by Dercyllidas, *ibid.*
- Miletus*, city of Ionia, ii. 498. Cruelties acted by Lysander at Miletus, iii. 416. Miletus besieged and taken by Alexander, v. 34.
- Milo* of Crotona, famous athleta, defeats the army of the Sybarites, and destroys their city, iii. 196. Extraordinary strength of that combatant, 201. His voracity, 202. His death, 203.
- Miltiades*, Athenian, tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made to them, ii. 482. An irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whither he returns soon after, 487. He settles at Athens, 503. He commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 513, &c. Moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 519. He sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and has ill success in the isle of Paros, *ibid.* He is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, *ibid.* Not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, *ibid.*
- Miltocythes*, Thracian, abandons the

- Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, and surrenders himself to Artaxerxes, iii. 440.
- Mina*, Greek money : its value, iv. 106.
- Mindarus*, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in battle by Alcibiades, iii. 362.
- Minerva*, goddess, i. xxxii. Famous feast at Athens in honour of her, *ibid*.
- Mines*. The product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, i. 134.
- Minister*. Wise lessons for a minister, ii. 382.
- Minos*, first king of Crete, iv. 75. Laws instituted by him in his kingdom, *ibid*. &c. Hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 83. Cause of that hatred, 84.
- Minucius* (Marcus) is appointed master of the horse to Fabius, i. 270. He gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians, in that dictator's absence, 274. The people give him equal authority with the dictator, 275. He engages with disadvantage, out of which Fabius extricates him, *ibid*. He acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, 276. He is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 281.
- Misael*, one of the three young Hebrews preserved miraculously in the furnace, ii. 97.
- Misraim*. See *Menes*.
- Mithras*, name given the sun by the Persians, iii. 405.
- Mithridates I.* king of Pontus, i. cxxxv. That prince submits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, v. 37.
- Mithridates II.* king of Pontus, flies to avoid the rage of Antigonus, i. cxxxv.
- Mithridates III.* king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, i. cxxxv.
- Mithridates IV.* king of Pontus, i. cxxxv.
- Mithridates V.* surnamed Euergetes, king of Pontus, aids the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. cxxxv. The Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, vii. 387. Death of Mithridates, 400.
- Mithridates VI.* surnamed Eupator, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. cxxxv. The Romans take Phrygia from him, viii. 144. He possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, 145, &c. He gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, 147. Open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, 148. That prince gains some advantages over the Romans, 149. He causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day, 152. He makes himself master of Athens, 153. Two of his generals are defeated by Sylla, 163 ; and himself by Fimbria, 165. His fleet is also twice beaten, 166. He has an interview with Sylla, and concludes a peace with the Romans, 170. Second war of the Romans with Mithridates, under Murena, 173. It subsists only three years, 175.
- Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, viii. 175. He prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 177. He seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, 178. The Romans send Lucullus and Cotta against him, 179. Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, 178. He forms the siege of Cyzicum, 179. Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 181. Mithridates takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, 183. He is entirely defeated, and obliged to fly, 184. He sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, 185. He retires to Tigranes, his son-in-law, 187. Tigranes sends him back into Pontus to raise troops, 193. Mithridates endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat, 199. Those two princes apply in concert to raising new forces, 200. They are defeated by Lucullus, 205.
- Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, viii. 207, 210. He is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 215, 216. He endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes, his son-in-law, 217. He retires into the Bosphorus, 222. He puts his son Xipharex to death, 224. He makes proposals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, 226. He forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, 228. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 230. Character of Mithridates, *ibid*.

- Mithridates I.* king of the Parthians, defeats Demetrius, and takes him prisoner, vii. 375. He carries that prince into his kingdom, and gives him his daughter Rodoguna in marriage, *ibid.*
- Mithridates II.* surnamed the Great, ascends the throne of Parthia after the death of his uncle Artabanes, vii. 395. He re-establishes Antiochus Eusebes, who had taken refuge with him, in his dominions, 419. He sends an ambassador to Sylla, to make an alliance with the Romans, viii. 146. Death of Mithridates, 27.
- Mithridates III.* ascends the throne of Parthia after the death of Phraates, viii. 28. Orodes, his brother, de-thrones and puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Mithridates*, a young Persian lord, boasts of having given Cyrus the Younger his mortal wound, iii. 432. Parysatis causes him to be put to death, 465.
- Mithridates*, eunuch, and great chamberlain of Xerxes, makes himself an accomplice in the murder of that prince, iii. 101. He is put to death by the punishment of the troughs, 105.
- Mithridates*, of Pergamus, marches with troops to the aid of Cæsar in Egypt, viii. 253.
- Mithrobarzanes*, favourite of Tigranes, is sent against Lucullus by that prince, viii. 193. Himself and his troops are cut to pieces, 194.
- Mitylene*, capital of the isle of Lesbos, ii. 353. That city taken by the Athenians, iii. 235.
- Mnasippus* is sent with a fleet by the Lacedæmonians to retake Corcyra from the Athenians, iv. 283. He is killed in a battle, *ibid.*
- Mnaskires*, king of the Parthians, viii. 28.
- Mnevis*, name of the ox adored in Egypt, i. 27.
- Modesty*: traces of it amongst the ancients, ii. 119. It was absolutely neglected at Sparta, 397.
- Mæris*, king of Egypt, i. 73. Famous lake made by him, 12.
- Molo* is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, vi. 220. He makes himself sovereign in his province, *ibid.* Antiochus defeats him in a battle, 226. He kills himself in despair, *ibid.*
- Moloch*, name given to Saturn in Scripture, i. 119.
- Monarchy.* Original design of monarchy, ii. 106. Monarchical the best form of government, 265.
- Monima* of Ionia: Mithridates carries her with him in his train, viii. 152. She marries that prince, 185. Tragical death of that princess, 186.
- Monuments* erected by the ancients to those who died for their country, ii. 518. What kind of monuments the most durable, iii. 146.
- Motya*, city of Sicily, i. 158.
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- Mummius*, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, vii. 312. He defeats the Achæans, 315. Takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it, *ibid.* He preserves the statues erected in honour of Philopæmen, 318. Noble disinterestedness of Mummius, 319. He enters Rome in triumph, 321. He goes on an embassy into Egypt, Asia, Syria, and Greece, 381.
- Murcna* commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Chæronea, viii. 161. Sylla, on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Asia, 173. He makes war against Mithridates, 174; and is defeated, *ibid.* He receives the honour of a triumph at Rome, 175.
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- Music*: to what perfection it was carried by the ancients, ii. 310. The Greeks considered it as an essential part of the education of youth, iv. 108. Prizes of music at the feast of Panathenæa, i. xxxi.
- Musicanus*, Indian prince: subjected by Alexander, v. 264.
- Mycale*, promontory of the continent of Asia, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, iii. 71.
- Mycenæ*, city of Peloponnesus, ii. 359. Kings of Mycenæ, 360.
- Mycerinus*, king of Egypt, i. 87. Mildness of his reign, 88.
- Myron*, Athenian sculptor, i. lxiv.
- Myronides*, general of the Athenians, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Bœotia, iii. 142.
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- NABARZANES*, general of the horse in the army of Darius, in conjunction with Bessus, betrays that prince, v. 159, &c. He retires into Hyrcania, 162. He surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 174.
- Nabis* makes himself tyrant of Sparta, vi. 327. Instances of his avarice and cruelty, 328. Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposit, 375. Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, 376. The Romans declare war against him, 403. Q. Flaminius marches against him, 404; besieges him in Sparta, 407; obliges him to sue for peace, 409; and grants it him, *ibid.* Nabis breaks the treaty, 417. He is defeated by Philopœmen, 423; and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, 424. He is killed, 428.
- Nabonassar*, or *Bclesis*, king of Babylon, ii. 84.
- Nabopolassar*, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares, king of Media, besieges Nineveh, and entirely ruins that city, ii. 92. He associates his son Nabuchodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechao, 93. Nabopolassar's death, 94.
- Nabuchodonosor I.* or *Suoduchinus*, king of Nineveh, ii. 91. That prince is attacked by Phraortes, king of the Medes, 111. He defeats him in the plain of Ragan, ravages his dominions, and puts him to death, *ibid.* He sends Holophernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the people who had refused him aid, 112. Entire defeat of his army, *ibid.*
- Nabuchodonosor II.* is associated in the empire of Assyria, by Nabopolassar, ii. 93. He defeats Necho, and conquers Syria and Palestine, *ibid.* He besieges Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and carries away a great number of Jews captive to Babylon, *ibid.* Nabuchodonosor's first dream, 94. That prince marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and carries away all its treasures, 96. He defeats the army of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, *ibid.* He causes himself to be adored as a god, 97. He besieges Tyre, and takes it after a long siege, *ibid.* Nabuchodonosor's second dream, 98. He is reduced to the condition of beasts, he recovers his former shape, 100; and ascends the throne, *ibid.* He dies, *ibid.*
- Naphtha*, kind of bitumen very combustible, v. 142.
- Naravusus*, Numidian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, i. 228.
- Navy*, naval affairs of the ancients, iv. 124.
- Naupactum*, city of Ætolia, ii. 351. Besieged by Acilius, vi. 445.
- Naxus*, island, one of the Cyclades, ii. 488. Sedition at Naxus, which occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, *ibid.*
- Necapolis*, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, iii. 304.
- Nearchus*, officer of Alexander, undertakes to view the coast, from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf, v. 267. He succeeds in his enterprise, 269.
- Nechao*, king of Egypt, i. 99. He undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, *ibid.* Able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, 100. Nechao marches against the Babylonians and Medes, to put a stop to their progress, *ibid.* He defeats Josiah, king of Judah, who opposed his march, 101. He beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemis, and returns into his kingdom, *ibid.* On his way he passes through Jerusalem, deprives Jehoaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim, *ibid.* He is conquered by Nabuchodonosor, who retakes Carchemis, 102. Death of Nechao, 103.
- Nectanebus* is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Tachos, iv. 344. He is supported by Agesilaus, *ibid.* By his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, 345. Not being able to defend himself against Ochus.

- he escapes into Æthiopia, from whence he never returns, 380.
- Nehemiah*, Jew, cupbearer of Artaxerxes, obtains permission of that prince to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, iii. 129, &c. He acquits himself of his commission with incredible zeal, 130.
- Nelus* of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, viii. 172.
- Nemæa*, games instituted near that city, i. liv.
- Neolas*, brother of Molo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Molo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, vi. 226.
- Neoptolemus*, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, v. 337. He joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 367. He marches with Craterus against the latter, *ibid.*; and is killed in a battle, 368. Character of Neoptolemus, 365.
- Neoptolemus*, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, i. cxxxvii. Pyrrhus causes him to be dethroned, *ibid.*
- Neoptolemus*, Greek poet, iv. 491.
- Neriglissor* puts himself at the head of a conspiracy against Evilmerodach, king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, ii. 101. He makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, 158.
- Nero*, (C. Claudius), consul, quits his province, and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to attack Asdrubal in conjunction with him, i. 296.
- Nevius*, Roman officer, surprises Philip's camp near Apollonia, in the night, vi. 284.
- Nicæa*, city built by Alexander at the place where he had defeated Porus, v. 244.
- Nicanor* is deputed by the Ætolians to Philip, vi. 415. He endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus against the Romans, 416.
- Nicanor*, young officer in Alexander's army: rash boldness which costs him his life, v. 236.
- Nicanor*, Cassander's brother, is put to death by order of Olympias, v. 400.
- Nicanor*, governor of Media under Antiochus, is surprised in his camp in the night by Seleucus, and obliged to fly, v. 430. He is killed in a battle, 455.
- Nicanor*, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, conspires against that prince and poisons him, vi. 219. He is put to death by Achæus, *ibid.*
- Nicanor*, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, vii. 156, &c. Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judæa, to assist Alcimus, 356. He is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and is killed in battle, *ibid.*
- Nicias*, general of the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, iii. 268. He opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 284. He is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ibid.* His conduct on arriving in Sicily, 295. After some expeditions, he forms the siege of Syracuse, 305. The city is reduced to extremities, 312. The arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 314. Nicias writes to the Athenians to state his condition, and to demand reinforcement, 318. Two colleagues are appointed him, 321. He is compelled by his colleagues to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 324. His land-army is also defeated, 325. He hazards another sea-fight in concert with Demosthenes, and is again defeated, 327. He determines to retire by land, 331. He is reduced to surrender at discretion, 341. He is condemned to die, and executed, 344.
- Nicias*, treasurer to Perseus, throws the treasures of that prince into the sea by his order, vii. 221. Perseus puts him to death, *ibid.*
- Nicocles*, son of Evagoras, reigns at Salamis after his father's death, iv. 334.
- Nicocles*, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, v. 426. He makes an alliance secretly with Antigonus, *ibid.* He kills himself, *ibid.*
- Nicocles*, tyrant of Sicily, is driven out of that city by Aratus, vi. 146, &c.
- Nicogenes*, in whose house Themistocles resides at Egæ, supplies his guest with the means of going to the court of Persia in safety, iii. 107.
- Nicolaus*, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, vi. 232, &c.
- Nicolaus*, a venerable old man, harangues the Syracusans, to dissuade them from

- condemning the Athenian generals, iii. 342.
- Nicomedes I.* king of Bithynia, i. cxxxiii.
- Nicomedes II.* son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, vii. 294. He kills his father, who had given orders for murdering him, and reigns in his stead, 295. He sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, viii. 145. His death, 147.
- Nicomedes III.* ascends the throne of Bithynia, viii. 147. He is dethroned by Mithridates, *ibid.* The Romans reinstate him, *ibid.* He is again expelled by Mithridates, 152. Sylla reconciles him and Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 170. *Nicomedes*, in gratitude for the services of the Romans, at his death leaves the Roman people his heirs, 177.
- Nicostratus* of Argos commands one of the detachments of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition into Egypt, iv. 379.
- Nicostratus*, prætor of the Achæans, defeats the troops of Androstenes, who commanded for Philip at Corinth, vi. 388.
- Nileus*, son of Codrus, settles in Asia Minor, ii. 366.
- Nile*, river of Africa: its sources, i. 15. Cataracts of the Nile, *ibid.* Causes of its inundation, 16. Time that its inundation continues, 17. Measure or depth of its inundation, 18. Canals of the Nile, 20. Fertility occasioned by the Nile, 21. Double prospect occasioned by the Nile, 23. Canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, 24.
- Nimrod*, founder of the Assyrian empire, ii. 59. History confounds him with his son Ninus, *ibid.* Scripture places him very near Abraham; for what reason, 62.
- Nineveh*, city of Assyria: its foundation, ii. 62. Description of that city, *ibid.* Kings of Nineveh, *ibid.* &c. Destruction of that city, 113.
- Ninus*, king of Assyria, succeeds Nimrod, and is often confounded with that prince, ii. 62. He builds Nineveh, 63. His expedition against the Bactrians, 64. He marries Semiramis, and has a son by her, *ibid.* He dies soon after, *ibid.*
- Ninyas*, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigns in Assyria, ii. 79. Effeminacy and indolence of that prince, *ibid.*
- Nitocris*, queen of Babylon, ii. 102. Inscription which she causes to be put upon her tomb, *ibid.*
- No-Amon*, famous city of Egypt, i. 94.
- Nobility*. Wherein true nobility consists, v. 420.
- Nomi*, or governments, of Egypt, i. 2.
- Numidians*, people of Africa, i. 228. Their principal force consisted in cavalry, ii. 1.
- Nysius*, general of Dionysius the Younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracusans, iv. 224. He burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 228. Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 241.
- Nysa*, nurse of Bacchus, vi. 34.
- Nyssa*, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, viii. 185.

O.

- OBEDIENCE*: model of it in the education of the Spartan youth, ii. 392. Means necessary to be used for obtaining voluntary obedience, 144.
- Obelisks* of Egypt, i. 5.
- Ocha*, sister of Ochus, is buried alive by order of that prince, iv. 356.
- Ochus* takes the name of Darius, for having put a stop to the insolence of Smerdis the Magian, ii. 447. See *Darius I.*
- Ochus*, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, iii. 253. He gets that prince into his hands, and puts him to death, 254, &c. He ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, *ibid.* See *Darius Nothus*.
- Ochus*, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, iv. 355. He ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, 356. Cruelties which he commits, *ibid.* His successful expeditions against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, 377, &c. After those expeditions he abandons himself to pleasures, 383. He is poisoned by Bagoas, *ibid.*
- Octavia*, widow of Marcellus, and sister of young Cæsar, marries Antony,

- viii. 266. She leaves Rome to go to Antony, and arrives at Athens, 268. Antony forbids her to come any further, *ibid.* She returns to Rome, 269. Affront which she receives from Antony, 274.
- Octavius*, (Cn.) prætor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, vii. 228, &c. Means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 254. Perseus puts himself into his hands, 256. Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 270. The Romans send him to Syria as ambassador, 344. He is murdered there, 353. The senate erect a statue to him, 354.
- Octavius*, Crassus's lieutenant, endeavours in vain to console him for his defeat, viii. 46. He accompanies that general in his interview with Surena, 52. He is killed in defending him, 53.
- Odcon*, or theatre of music at Athens, iii. 150.
- Oebares*, Darius's groom, by his address secures the crown of Persia to his master, ii. 265.
- Oebazus*, Persian lord : barbarous cruelty of Darius towards him, ii. 478.
- Economy*. It is one of the principal constituents of political ability, iii. 155.
- Othacces*, king of Colehis, is subdued by Pompey, who makes him serve as an ornament in his triumph, viii. 232.
- Olympia*, castle in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, iii. 304.
- Olympiads*. Epochs of the Olympiads, ii. 363.
- Olympias*, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to Philip king of Macedonia, and has by that prince Alexander the Great, iv. 414. Philip repudiates her, 489. Alexander carries her to Epirus, 490. Polysperchon recalls her from Epirus, whither she had retired during Antipater's regency, and divides the government with her, v. 379. Olympias causes Aridæus, and his wife Eurydice, to be put to death, 400. Cassander besieges her in Pydna, whither she had retired, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, 402.
- Olympic*. Solemn games of Greece, i. liv. Ladies admitted to them, lxxi.
- Olynthus*, city of Thrace, iv. 263. The Lacedæmonians declare war against it, 264. It is compelled to surrender, 268. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores the aid of the Athenians, 433. Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 439.
- Onesicritus*, philosopher and historian : Alexander deposes him to the Brachmans, to engage them to join in his train, v. 249. He can prevail upon none of them to do so, except Calanus, 251.
- Onesimus*, Macedonian lord, not being able to dissuade Perseus from making war with the Romans, quits his party, and retires to Rome, vii. 223.
- Onias*, son of Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, v. 372. His death, vi. 4.
- Onias*, high-priest of the Jews, makes himself venerable for his piety, vii. 120. He refuses Heliodorus the treasures kept in the temple of Jerusalem, 121, &c. He is deposed by the intrigues of Jason his brother, 126. His death, 129.
- Onias*, son of the former, having failed of the high-priesthood, retires into Egypt, vii. 362. He builds a temple there for the Jews, *ibid.* &c.
- Onomarchus*, brother of Philomelus, general of the Phocæans, takes upon him the command of the troops in his stead, iv. 425. He is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, 427. His body is fastened to a gibbet, *ibid.*
- Onomastes*, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince against the people of Maronæa, vii. 67.
- Ophellias*, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, and renders himself independent, v. 439. He suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries him troops into the country of the Carthaginians, i. 190. Agathocles puts him to death, 191.
- Oppius*, Roman proconsul, marches against Mithridates, and is taken prisoner, viii. 151.
- Oracles* : famous ones of antiquity, i. xlii. Of Dodona, *ibid.* Of Trophœus in Bœotia, *ibid.* Of the Branchidæ, xliii. Of Claros, *ibid.* Of Delphi, xlv. Usual character of oracles, xlvii. Whether they are to be

- ascribed to the operation of devils, or the knavery of men, xlviii.
- Orations*: funeral orations pronounced in Greece over the tombs of those who had died fighting for their country, iii. 212.
- Orator*: quality most essential to an orator, iv. 389, 390.
- Orchestra*, part of the theatre of the ancients, i. 101.
- Orchomenus*, part of Bœotia, where the battle between Sylla and Archelaus was fought, viii. 164.
- Orestes*, son and successor of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, ii. 360.
- Orestes*, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, vii. 309. He flies to escape the violence of the people, *ibid.*
- Oretes*, governor of Asia Minor for Cambyses, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, ii. 256. Darius puts him to death, 452.
- Oroandes*, of Crete, promises Perseus to receive him into his ship, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, vii. 255. He runs away with those treasures, 256.
- Orobazus* is sent ambassador to Sylla by Arsaces king of Parthia, to make an alliance with the Romans, viii. 146. Arsaces puts him to death at his return, *ibid.*
- Orodes*, king of Parthia, viii. 28. War of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, 29. Orodes, jealous of the glory Surena had acquired by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 56. Grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 62. He chooses Phraates for his successor, who causes him to be put to death, 63.
- Oromasdes*, divinity worshipped by the Persians, ii. 328.
- Orontes*, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land-army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, iii. 517. He accuses Tiribasis falsely, 518. He terminates the war with Evagoras by a treaty of peace, 519. Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 525.
- Orontes*, governor of Mysia, joins with the provinces of Asia Minor in their revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays them, iv. 347.
- Orphans*: Charondas's law in favour of them, iii. 198.
- Orsaces*, an old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expedition by order of Orodes, viii. 57. He is killed in a battle, 58.
- Orsines*, governor of Pasargadæ, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, v. 272. He goes to meet Alexander with magnificent presents, *ibid.* He is put to death in consequence of the secret intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 274.
- Orthia*. Inhuman worship rendered by the Lacedæmonians to Diana, sur-named Orthia, iii. 363.
- Ortygia*, island near Syracuse, iii. 304.
- Osiris*, Persian lord, marches at the head of an army against Megabyzus, iii. 126. He is defeated and taken prisoner, *ibid.* Megabyzus generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, *ibid.*
- Ostanes*, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, iii. 73.
- Ostracism*, a kind of sentence amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, ii. 521. The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the ostracism, iii. 277.
- Osymandias*, king of Egypt, i. 73. Magnificent edifices which he caused to be erected, *ibid.* Famous library formed by that prince, 74. His tomb surrounded with a circle of gold, which Cambyses afterwards took away, *ibid.*
- Otanes*, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magian, by the means of his daughter, ii. 262. He forms a conspiracy against that usurper, *ibid.* He re-establishes Syloson, tyrant of Samos, ii. 461.
- Othryades*, Lacedæmonian, obtains the victory for the Lacedæmonians over the Argives by his valour, i. cxviii. He kills himself upon the field of battle, *ibid.*
- Oxathres*, brother of Darius, distinguishes himself in the battle of Issus, v. 61. Alexander puts Bessus into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the punishment he deserved, 192.
- Oxyartes*, Persian prince, entertains Alexander in his house, and gives him his daughter Roxana in marriage, v. 216.
- Oxydracæ*, people of India, v. 258. Their capital besieged and taken by

Alexander, 259. They submit to that prince, 261.

Oxyrinchus, city of the Lower Thebais, i. 48. Wonder related of that city by the Abbé Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, *ibid*.

P.

PACORUS, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, viii. 57. He raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, 58. He returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed in a battle, 62.

Pædaretus, Lacedæmonian: his love of his country, ii. 381.

Pagan. Definition of a Pagan by Terullian, iii. 115. See *Paganism*.

Paganism. General reflections upon Paganism, i. xxviii. &c. Absurdities of Paganism, xxxix. What the highest perfection to be expected from it was, iii. 200.

Palamedes, tragedy written by Euripides on the occasion of the death of Socrates, iv. 56.

Palestine, province of Syria, i. xxvii.

Palestræ, public schools in which the athletæ exercised themselves in wrestling, i. lx.

Palica, city of Sicily, near which there was a temple famous for the sanctity of the oaths taken there, iii. 191.

Palisades: difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans in fortifying their camps, vi. 378.

Pammenes commands the troops sent by the Thebans to the aid of Artabasus, and occasions his gaining two considerable victories, iv. 357.

Pammenes, Athenian general, marches to the aid of the city of Megalopolis, besieged by the Lacedæmonians, iv. 369.

Pamphylia, province of Asia Minor, i. xxvi.

Panathenæa, festival celebrated at Athens, i. xxx.

Pancratium, kind of combat amongst the ancients, i. lxxiii.

Panætius, Stoic philosopher: he accompanies Scipio in his embassy to the kings of the East, vii. 382.

Pantauchus, Perseus's ambassador to Gentius, engages that prince in his

master's interest against the Romans, vii. 236.

Panthea, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, ii. 161. Conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ibid*. She brings over her husband to Cyrus, 163. Her discourse with him before he sets out for the battle, 180. The excess of her grief upon the death of Abradates, 187. She stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, *ibid*.

Paphlagonia, province of Asia Minor, i. xxvi.

Papiria, mother of the second Scipio Africanus: magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, ii. 38.

Papyrus, plant of Egypt: description of it, i. 63.

Paralus, last of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, iii. 220.

Parasanga, measure of distance peculiar to the Persians, iii. 462.

Parchment: invention of parchment, i. 64.

Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had carried off, is driven by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, i. 86. Proteus, king of Egypt, obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, *ibid*. Paris returns to Troy, *ibid*.

Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry, in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, v. 25. He seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of the small city of Issus, 52. Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners, to him, 70. Parmenio advises that prince to accept Darius's offers, 101. Surprise of Parmenio, on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high-priest Jaddus, 105. Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 188. Eulogy of Parmenio, *ibid*.

Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius, ii. 448.

Parricide. Reasons that prevented Solon from making any law against that crime, ii. 412.

Partheniæ, name given to the illegitimate children of the Lacedæmonians:

- when grown up, they banish themselves from Sparta, and settle at Tarentum in Italy, i. cxx.
- Parthenon*, temple of Minerva at Athens, iii. 149.
- Parthia*, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, i. xxv. Beginning of the empire of the Parthians, viii. 25. Kings of Parthia from Arsaces I. to Orodes, *ibid.* &c.
- Parysatis*, sister and wife of Darius Nottus, iii. 254. Her influence over her husband, *ibid.* Extreme fondness of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, 255. She obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for that son, and causes him to be sent back to his government, 401. Cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 467. She poisons Statira, *ibid.* Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, *ibid.*
- Pasargada*, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, v. 158.
- Patabemis*, officer of Apries, not having been able to seize Amasis in the midst of the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the most cruel manner by that prince, i. 107.
- Patisthus*, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, ii. 259. He is killed with his brother, 264.
- Patroclus*, governor of Babylon for Seleucus, abandons that city upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marshes, v. 434.
- Patroclus* commands the fleet sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the aid of the Athenians besieged by Antigonus Gonatas, vi. 108. He returns into Egypt, and at Caunus causes Sotades the satiric poet to be put to death, 109.
- Patroclus*, Athenian, cites Demosthenes before the judges, as a violator of the laws, iv. 396. Bad success of his accusation, *ibid.*
- Patron*, general of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, advises that prince in vain to confide the guard of his person to the Greeks, v. 160.
- Paulus Æmilius*. See *Emilius*.
- Pausanias*, king of Lacedæmon, commands the army of the Greeks jointly with Aristides, and gains a great battle over the Persians, iii. 62. He makes the Lacedæmonians lose the chief command by his haughtiness, 84. His secret intrigues with the Persians, 87. He is discovered and punished, 88.
- Pausanias*, king of Lacedæmon, commands at the siege of Athens, iii. 393. He obtains peace for the Athenians, 412. He neglects to march to the aid of Lysander, and is summoned to take his trial on his return, 496. He refuses to appear, and is condemned to die, *ibid.* He retires to Tegæa, and dies there, *ibid.*
- Pausanias*, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, iv. 405. He is dethroned by Iphicrates, *ibid.*
- Pausanias*, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain satisfaction of Philip for an insult which he had received from Attalus, iv. 492. He assassinates Philip in revenge, and is torn in pieces upon the spot, 493.
- Pausistratus*, commander of the Rhodian fleet, is defeated by Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, and killed in the battle, vii. 5.
- Pay* of the troops by sea and land amongst the ancients, iv. 130.
- Pelagus* teaches the first Greeks to live upon acorns, ii. 358.
- Pella*, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, iv. 402.
- Pelopidas*, Theban: his character, iv. 269. His friendship with Epaminondas, 270. He abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 273. He forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country, 271. He is elected Bœotarch, 278. He drives the garrison out of the citadel, 279. He causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 280. He gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegæra, 284. He commands the sacred battalion at the battle of Leuctra, 289. He is created Bœotarch with Epaminondas, ravages Laconia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, 295. At his return he is accused and acquitted, 300. The Thebans send him ambassador to the court of Persia, 304. His influence with Artaxerxes, 305. Pelopidas marches against Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ, and reduces him to reason, 308. He goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hostage, 309. He returns into Thessaly, 310. He is

- seized, and made prisoner by treachery, 311. He animates Thebe, wife of Alexander, against her husband, 312. He is delivered by Epaminondas, 315. Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 317, &c. Singular honours paid to his memory, 318.
- Pelopidas*, one of the officers of Mithridates, is sent ambassador by that prince to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of refusal, viii. 148.
- Peloponnesus*, province and peninsula of Greece, now called the Morea, ii. 351. Peloponnesian war, iii. 204.
- Pelops* gives his name to Peloponnesus, ii. 360.
- Pelusium*, city of Lower Egypt, i. 25.
- Pensions*. Manner of giving pensions by the kings of Persia, ii. 292.
- Pentacosiedimni*, citizens of the first class at Athens, iv. 86.
- Pentathlon*, assemblage of several agonistic exercises amongst the Greeks, i. lxiv.
- Penthilus*, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Tisamenus, ii. 361.
- Perdiccas*, son of Amyntas II. is placed upon the throne of Macedonia by Pelopidas, iv. 309. He is killed in a battle against the Illyrians, 310.
- Perdiccas*, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, v. 298. Provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 337. He is appointed guardian of Aridæus, and regent of the empire, 335. He puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 339. He quells the revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia, 341. He puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 363. He marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, 364. His unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 366. He is killed there, 369.
- Pergamus*, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor, i. xxvi. Kings of Pergamus, cxxxiii. The kingdom of Pergamus becomes a Roman province, vii. 386.
- Periander*, tyrant of Corinth, is ranked in the number of the seven sages, ii. 438.
- Pericles*, Athenian: his extraction, iii. 132. His education, *ibid.* Care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and to exercise himself in eloquence, 133. Means that he employs for conciliating the favour of the people, 137. He undertakes to reduce the power of the Areopagus, and succeeds in it, 139. Thucydides is opposed to him, 147. He adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 148. Envy of the Athenians against Pericles, *ibid.* He justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, 151. He changes his conduct in respect to the people, 152. His great authority, *ibid.* His disinterestedness, 154.
- Expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, iii. 159; about Peloponnesus, *ibid.*; and against Eubœas 160. He reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, 161. He causes aid to be granted the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, 162. Trouble given him by his enemies, 170. He induces the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 176; and to shut themselves up within their walls, 207. He prevents them from taking the field, whilst their lands are ravaged, 208. He pronounces the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 212. The Athenians divest him of the command, and fine him, 219. Grief of Pericles for the death of his son Paralus, 220. The Athenians reinstate him, 221; and permit him to enrol his illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 223. Death of Pericles, *ibid.* His panegyric, *ibid.* &c.
- Pericles*, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the islands Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, iii. 384.
- Perinthus*, city of Thrace, besieged by Philip, and delivered by the Athenians, iv. 462.
- Perjury*. Punishment of perjury in Egypt, i. 36.
- Perpenna*, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, vii. 236. Anicius delivers him, and sends him to Rome with the news of his victory, 237. Perpenna, when consul, marches against Aristonicus, defeats him in a battle, and takes him prisoner, 386. He dies on his return to Rome, *ibid.*
- Perseus*, first king of Mycenæ, ii. 359.

- Perseus*, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, forms a conspiracy against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, vii. 93. His speech against his brother, 100. Perseus removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 118. He takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 119. He puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, 178. He prepares secretly for war against the Romans, 179. He endeavours to gain allies, *ibid.* He tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, *ibid.* The Romans are informed of his secret measures, 181. Eumenes gives them fresh information concerning his proceedings, *ibid.* Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 185; and afterwards by poison, 186. Rupture between Perseus and the Romans, 187. Interview of Perseus and Marcius, 192. War declared in form, 197. Perseus advances with his troops near the river Peneus, 201. Battle of the cavalry, in which that prince gains a considerable advantage, and makes an ill use of it, 204. He makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 209. He takes fright upon the arrival of the consul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 219. He resumes courage soon after, 221. He solicits aid on all sides, 232. His avarice loses him considerable succours, 234. He is entirely defeated and put to flight by Paulus Æmilius at the battle of Pydna, 250, &c. He is taken prisoner with his children, 256; and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 269. Death of Perseus, 270.
- Persepolis*, capital city of Persia, subjected by Alexander, who burns the palace of it in a drunken revel, v. 156, &c.
- Persia*, province of Asia, i. xxv. Foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, ii. 225. Kings who reigned in Persia: Cyrus, *ibid.*; Cambyses, 247; Smerdis the Magian, 259; Darius, son of Hystaspes, 447; Xerxes, iii. 1; Artaxerxes Longimanus, 104; Xerxes II. 252; Sogdianus, *ibid.*; Darius Nothus, 254; Artaxerxes Mnemon, iv. 346; Ochus, 355; Arses, 384; Darius Codomanus, *ibid.* Destruction of the empire of the Persians by Alexander, v. 163. Vices which occasioned the decline, and at length the ruin, of the Persian empire, 164. Manners and customs of the Persians, ii. 266. Education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, 132. Government of the Persians, 267. Form of it monarchical, *ibid.* Coronation of their kings, iii. 400. Respect paid to them, ii. 268. Manner of educating their children, 269. Public council of the Persians, 271. Administration of justice, 274. Attention to the provinces, 279. Invention of posts and couriers, 286. Care of their finances, 289. Of war, 293. Entrance into the troops, *ibid.* Arms of the Persians, 294. Their chariots armed with scythes, 295. Military discipline of the Persians, 298. Their order of battle, 300. Quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, 306. Arts and sciences of the Persians, 308. Their religion, 322. Marriages and burials, 330.
- Petalism*, kind of sentence established at Syracuse, iii. 190.
- Petra*, a very strong place in the country of the Nabathæan Arabians, v. 433.
- Petra Oxiana*, inaccessible rock, v. 204. Alexander makes himself master of it, 206, &c.
- Peucestes*, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of the city of Oxydracæ, v. 258. Provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 337. He opposes the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 399.
- Phalantus*, general of the Spartans called Partheniæ, settles them at Tarentum, i. cxx.
- Phalanx*, Macedonian: description of it, iv. 416.
- Phalaris*, his bull taken at the siege of Agrigentum, and sent to Carthage, i. 166.
- Phalecus* is appointed general of the Phœceans during the sacred war, in the room of Phayllus, iv. 428. He pillages the temple of Delphi, as the other had done, and is deposed, *ibid.*
- Phalerus*, port of Athens, iii. 80.
- Phameas*, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, dares not to take the field when Scipio is to support the foragers,

- ii. 19. He goes over to the Romans, 20.
- Phanes* of Halicarnassus, general of the Greek auxiliaries in the army of Amasis, upon some discontent goes over to Cambyzes, ii. 247. The Greeks in the king of Egypt's service murder his children in revenge, 249.
- Pharaoh*, name common to the kings of Egypt, i. 75. One of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 89.
- Pharisees*, powerful sect in Judæa, vii. 410. Persecution of Alexander Janneus and his party by the Pharisees, 430. End of their tyranny, viii. 12.
- Pharnabazus*, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, iii. 361. He makes peace with the latter, 364. He sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta, 416. His whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus, 486. Interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, 492. The latter is charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, iv. 338. The enterprise miscarries through his fault, 340.
- Pharnaces* makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, viii. 228. He is declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 231. He is defeated and driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 259.
- Pharnacias*, eunuch of Xerxes II. supplies Sogdianus with the means for assassinating that prince, iii. 252.
- Pharos*, its famous tower or light-house, vi. 25.
- Phasaël*, brother of Herod, is made governor of Jerusalem, viii. 19. He is taken by the Parthians and put in irons, 20. He kills himself to avoid the ignominy of punishment, *ibid.*
- Phayllus*, general of the Phocæans during the sacred war, plunders the temple of Delphi to defray the expenses of that war, iv. 427. His death, 428.
- Phayllus*, of Crotona, athleta: his affection for the Greeks, and valour, v. 140.
- Phebidas*, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, iv. 264. He seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, 265. He is deprived of the command, and fined, 267.
- Phedyma*, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magian, discovers that usurper's imposture, ii. 262. She marries Darius after the death of Smerdis, 448.
- Phœnicia*, province of Syria, i. xxvii. Revolt of Phœnicia against Ochus, iv. 386.
- Pherenclates*, Persian lord, made governor of Egypt by Ochus, iv. 381.
- Pherenicus*, one of the principal conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, iv. 272.
- Pheron*, king of Egypt, i. 85. Action of that prince against the Nile, *ibid.*
- Phidias*, famous painter and sculptor: Pericles gives him the direction of the public buildings at Athens, iii. 150. Ingratitude of the Athenians to Phidias, 170.
- Phila*, Antipater's daughter, is married to Craterus, v. 357. After the death of Craterus she marries Demetrius Poliorcetes, 358. She kills herself by poison, vi. 20. Praise of that princess, v. 368.
- Phila*, daughter of Seleucus and Stratonice, marries Antiochus Gonatas, vi. 61.
- Philadelphus*, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, vi. 24. See *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.
- Philammon* assassinates Arsinoë, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philopator, vi. 242. He is beaten to death with staves by the ladies of honour to that princess, 338.
- Philani*, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, i. 152. The Carthaginians, out of gratitude, consecrate two altars to them, *ibid.*
- Philanius*, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, i. 327.
- Philetarus*, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, i. cxxxiv.; vi. 111. Means which he uses for supporting himself in that kingdom, *ibid.*
- Philemon*, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own lifetime, i. c.
- Philidas*, one of the conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, finds means to make himself their secretary, iv. 274. On the day fixed by the conspirators, he invites the tyrants to a supper, 276.

The conspirators kill them at his house, 277.

Philip, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia : his birth, iv. 402. Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as an hostage, 406. He flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, 407. Beginning of his reign, *ibid.* He makes a captious peace with the Athenians, 409. His first conquests, 412. Birth of Alexander, 414. Philip's care of his education, 415. He endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 426. He conciliates the amity of the Thessalians, and expels their tyrants, 428. He endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopylæ in vain, 429. Takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 439. He declares for the Thebans against the Phocæans, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 440. He lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, 442. He seizes Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocæans, and terminates the sacred war, 448. He causes himself to be admitted into the council of the Amphictyons, 449.

Philip, on his return into Macedonia, pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, iv. 450. He enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 454. Athens, declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, 455. Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 456. Phocion drives him out of that island, 459. Philip forms the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 463. Phocion obliges him to raise both those sieges, 467. Philip subjects Atheas, king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mœsia, 469. By his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons, 472, &c. He seizes Elateæ, 473. The Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 477. He makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, *ibid.* Battle of Chæronea, in which Philip gains a great victory, 480. Philip, in the council of the Amphictyons,

causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 488. Domestic troubles in his family, 489. He repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, *ibid.* He celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, with Alexander, king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 492. Memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 494. Good and bad qualities of that prince, *ibid.* &c.

Philip, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, vi. 214. His affection for Aratus, 246. He takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, 247. Different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 255. Strange abuse that Apelles, his minister, makes of his confidence, 257. Irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 264. He takes Thermæ by surprise, 265. Excesses committed there by his soldiers, *ibid.* Prudence which he shows in his retreat, 267. Troubles in his camp, 270. Punishment of the authors of them, *ibid.* Irruption of Philip into Laconia, *ibid.* New intrigue of the conspirators, 269. Their punishment, 273. Philip takes Thebes of Phthiotis from the Ætolians, 277. He concludes a peace with them, 278.

Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal, vi. 281. He makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, 283. He is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Apollonia, 284. His change of conduct, *ibid.* His bad faith and irregularities, 285. He causes Aratus to be poisoned, 286. He makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 287. He gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 292. He is repulsed near the city of Elis, 294. Different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 305, &c. He makes peace with the Romans, 329. He enters into a league with Antiochus for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 339. Bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, *ibid.* His cruel treatment of the Cicianians, 340. He besieges and takes Abydos, 341, &c. He ravages Attica, 347. The Romans declare war against him, 348.

Philip makes ineffectual attempts

against Athens, vi. 350. He endeavours to bring over the Ætolians to his party, 353. He is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 357. He is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apsus, 364. Ineffectual interview of Philip with Flaminius concerning peace, 373. He is defeated by Flaminius near Scotussa and Cynoscephalæ, in Thessalia, 384. The Romans grant him peace, 390. Philip aids Quintius against Nabis, 403, &c. His conduct to Scipio, 404. Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, vii. 61. The Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 64. He vents his rage upon the inhabitants of Maronæa, 67. He sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 69. Complaints against Philip carried to Rome, 88. The Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 89. Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 90. Plot of Perseus against Demetrius, 93. He accuses him to Philip, 97. Upon a new accusation Philip causes Demetrius to be put to death, 115. He discovers his innocence some time after, and Perseus's guilt, 118. Whilst he meditates the punishment of the latter he dies, 119.

Philip pretends himself son of Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, vii. 304. He is defeated and killed by Tremellius, 308.

Philip, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, v. 337.

Philip, in concert with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Mopsuestia, to avenge the death of his brother Seleucus, vii. 418. He reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Eusebes, 419. Philip's death, 421.

Philip, Phrygian, is made governor of Judæa by Antiochus Epiphanes, vii. 134.

Philip, foster brother and favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, vii. 163. Lysias usurps that employment from him, 342. Philip retires into Egypt, 343.

Philip of Acarnania, physician, known

from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, v. 44.

Philipsburgh, town of Germany, besieged and taken by the French, vii. 45.

Philiscus is sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the states of Greece, iv. 304.

Philistus, rich citizen of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, iv. 146. Dionysius banishes him, 187. Dionysius the Younger recalls him to court, 201. Death of Philistus, 222. He may be considered as a great historian, 201.

Philocles, Macedonian, devoted to Perseus, is sent by Philip on an embassy to Rome, vii. 113. At his return he delivers a forged letter to that prince under the counterfeited seal of T. Quintius, which occasions the death of Demetrius, 115. Philip causes him to be seized and put to the torture, in which he dies, 117.

Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, is defeated and made prisoner with his colleagues at the battle of Ægospotamos, iii. 391. He is put to death, 392.

Philomelus, general of the Phocæans, sets them against the decree of the Amphictyons, and induces them to take arms, iv. 424. He makes himself master of the temple of Delphi, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, *ibid.* He is defeated in a battle, and throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 425.

Philonides, runner to Alexander the Great, famous for his swiftness, i. lxvii.

Philopæmen, Megalopolitan, induces his fellow-citizens to reject the offers of Cleomenes, vi. 201. He signalizes himself at the battle of Selasia, 208. He distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of Elis, 294. His education, 295. His great qualities, 296. He is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 299. He reforms the Achæan troops, 300. He is elected captain-general of the Achæans, 319. He gains a famous victory over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, and kills him in the battle, 321, &c. The Achæans erect a statue to him, 324. Honours which he receives in the assembly at the Ne-

- mæan games, 325. Philopœmen is defeated at sea by the tyrant Nabis, 422. He gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, 423. After the death of Nabis he seizes Sparta, and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 429. He refuses the presents offered him by the Spartans, 430. He secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, vii. 41. He makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, 43. He attacks Messene, and is taken prisoner, 74. The Messenians put him to death, 75. Honours paid to his memory, 76. Trial of Philopœmen after his death, *ibid.*
- Philosophers* ; *Philosophy*. It is wonderfully proper for forming the hero, iv. 330, 331. The study of this science incompatible with slavery, iii. 193.
- Philotas*, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, v. 25. Pretended conspiracy of Philotas against Alexander, 181, &c. He is put to death, 187.
- Philotas*, governor of Upper Asia, is put to death by Pithon, v. 399.
- Philoxenus*, poet, favourite of Dionysius the tyrant: his generous frankness, iv. 184, &c.
- Philoxenus*, Macedonian, seizes Harpalus, and causes him to be put to the torture, v. 281.
- Phocæa*, city of Ionia, is condemned to be destroyed by the Romans, vii. 387. The people of Marseilles, originally descended from that city, obtain pardon for it, *ibid.*
- Phocion*, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, iv. 459. He makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 467. He rejects the offers of Harpalus, v. 279. He endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, 341, 342. He is condemned to die by the Athenians, 382. His body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 383. The Athenians erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 389. Character and eulogy of Phocion, iv. 457 ; v. 279, 384, &c.
- Phocis*, part of Greece, ii. 354. It is ravaged by Xerxes, iii. 39. The Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phocis of the custody of the temple of Delphi, 160. Pericles restores it to them, *ibid.* The Phocæans till the ground consecrated to Apollo, iv. 423. They are declared guilty of sacrilege, and are fined, *ibid.* They take arms against the decree of the Amphictyons, *ibid.* The latter make war against the Phocæans, 424. Philip reduces them, 447.
- Phoenix*, fabulous bird : wonders related of it, i. 26.
- Phoronæus*, king of Argos, ii. 359.
- Phraates I.* son of Priapatius, king of the Parthians, viii. 26.
- Phraates II.* succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, viii. 26. He is defeated three times by Antiochus Sidetes, vii. 392. He releases Demetrius, 393. He defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, *ibid.* He marries one of that prince's daughters, *ibid.* He is defeated by the Scythians, who had called in Antiochus to their aid, and is killed in his flight, 395.
- Phraates III.* surnamed Theos, king of the Parthians, viii. 28. He makes an alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, *ibid.* He espouses the part of Tigranes the Younger against the father, *ibid.* Death of Phraates, *ibid.*
- Phraates IV.* is placed by his father Ordes upon the Parthian throne, viii. 63. He puts his brothers, father, and his son, to death, *ibid.*
- Phraortes*, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejoces, ii. 110. He makes himself master of almost all Upper Asia, 111. He makes war against the Assyrians, *ibid.* He is defeated, *ibid.* Nabuchodonosor puts him to death, 112.
- Phrataphernes*, one of Alexander's generals : provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, v. 337.
- Phrygia*, province of Asia Minor, i. xxvii.
- Phrynicus*, one of the Athenian generals, opposes the recall of Alcibiades, iii. 353. He is deprived of the command, 354.
- Phrynon* commands the army of the Athenians sent against Mitylene, ii. 437. He accepts the challenge of Pittacus, and is killed, *ibid.*
- Phyllus*, Lacedæmonian officer, is kill-

- ed at the siege of Sparta by Pyrrhus, fighting valiantly, vi. 98.
- Physcon*. See *Ptolemy Euergetes*, sur-named Physcon.
- Phyto*, general of the troops of Rhe-gium, defends that city against Diony-sius, iv. 178. Dionysius, after hav-ing made him suffer great indignities, puts him to death, 179.
- Pindar*, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, iii. 187.
- Piræus*, port of Athens, iii. 80.
- Pyromis*, name given to kings said by the Egyptian priests to have reigned in Egypt, i. 94.
- Pisander*, Athenian captain, induces the people of Athens to recal Alcibiades, iii. 354. The Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tis-saphernes, *ibid.* At his return he changes the form of the government, 356.
- Pisander*, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus, his brother-in-law, to command the fleet in his stead, iii. 490. He is defeated by Conon near Chidos, and killed in the battle, 501.
- Pisistratus*, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, ii. 415. Lenity of his government, 416. His death, 417. His character, *ibid.* Library founded by him at Athens, *ibid.*
- Piso* (Calpurnius), consul, commands at the siege of Carthage before the arri-val of Scipio, ii. 21.
- Pisuthnes*, governor of Lydia for Da-rius, revolts against that prince, iii. 255. He is taken and put to death, 256.
- Pithon*, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipa-ter, v. 372. He causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 399. He is dri-ven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ibid.* Antigonus puts him to death, 420.
- Pittacus* of Mitylene, one of the seven sages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppressed his country, ii. 436. He commands the army against the Athenians, 437. He challenges Phry-non, their general, to single combat, and kills him, *ibid.* The inhabitants of Mitylene give him the sovereignty of their city, *ibid.* He voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expira-tion of ten years, and retires, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
- Places*. Attack and defence of places by the ancients, ii. 303, &c.
- Plague*, contagious distemper, iii. 214. Description of that disease, *ibid.*
- Plataæ*, city of Bœotia, ii. 352. The Plataeans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 511. They refuse to submit to Xerxes, iii. 25. The Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 66. The Plataeans institute an anniversary fes-tival in honour of those who died in the battle, 68. Siege of Plataeæ by the Thebans, 204. Plataeæ besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 239. The Thebans demolish it en-tirely, iv. 286. The Plataeans re-tire to Athens, *ibid.* They induce Alexander to destroy Thebes, v. 16. That prince permits them to rebuild their city, 140.
- Plato*, philosopher of Athens : he retires to Megara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, iv. 54. Plato travels into Sicily, where he appears for the first time at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 164. His intimacy and friendship with Dion, *ibid.* Plato's second voyage into Sicily, 200. Won-derful change occasioned by his pre-sence at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 202. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 204. Plato quits the court, and returns into Greece, 207. Adventure that hap-pens to him at Olympia, 208. He returns to the court of Dionysius the Younger, 210. Dionysius differs with him, 211. He permits him to re-turn into Greece, 212. Plato's death, 382.
- Plennyrium*, isle near Syracuse, iii. 304.
- Plistarchus*, son of Leonidas, king of Sparta, iii. 88.
- Plisthenes*, son of Atreus, king of My-cenæ, ii. 360.
- Plistonax*, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cause a treaty to be concluded between Athens and Sparta, iii. 267. His death, 374.
- Plutarch* of Eretria calls in the Athe-nians to the aid of Eubœa, besieged by Philip, iv. 456. His perfidy, 459. Phocion drives him out of Eretria, *ibid.*
- Pœcile*, Παικίλη, gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoics used to assemble, ii. 519.

Poem, epic and dramatic, *i.* xxx.

Poesy. Greek poets, *ii.* 424, &c. Emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in the Olympic games, *i.* xxx. Poets who invented and improved tragedy and comedy, xxxi.

Polemarch, magistrate at Athens, employed both to administer justice and command armies, *ii.* 512.

Poliorcetes: name given Demetrius, son of Antigonus, *v.* 424.

Polyænus, senator of Syracuse, harangues the people upon the action of Andranadorus, after the death of Hieronymus, *viii.* 106.

Polybidas, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war against Olynthus, and takes that city, *iv.* 267.

Polybius, Greek historian: his function at the funeral of Philopœmen, *vii.* 77. He is chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæans, 87. He is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 214. He is deputed to the consul Marcius, to whom he presents the decree of the Achæans, 216. He returns to Achaia, 218. He saves the Achæans a considerable expense, 221. He is included in the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, 284. His great friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, 285. Return of Polybius into Achaia, 319. Zeal of Polybius in defending Philopœmen's memory, *ibid.* Proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, 320. He establishes good order and tranquillity in his country, 321. He returns to Scipio at Rome, and accompanies him to the siege of Numantia, *ibid.* After Scipio's death he returns into his own country, where he ends his days, *ibid.*

Polybius of Megalopolis, officer in the army of the Achæans, *vi.* 322.

Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, *ii.* 256. Singular history of that tyrant, 257. His miserable end, 258.

Polycrates, first minister of Ptolemy Epiphanes, renders that prince great services, *vii.* 58.

Polydamas, famous athleta of antiquity, *i.* lxi.

Polydectes, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, *i.* cxvii.

Polydorus, brother of Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, succeeds him, and is soon after killed by Polyphron his other brother, *iv.* 308.

Polygamy. It was allowed in Egypt, *i.* 38.

Polygnotus, famous painter: generous action of his towards the Athenians, *ii.* 519.

Polyperchon, Syracusan, in concert with Leptines, kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, *iv.* 237.

Polyphron is substituted in the room of Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, his brother, *iv.* 308. He kills Polydorus his other brother, and is soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, *ibid.*

Polysperchon, one of the generals of Alexander's army, reduces a country called Bubacene, *v.* 217. He ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself before Alexander, 221. That prince causes him to be put in prison, and pardons him soon after, *ibid.* Polysperchon takes the city of Ora, 232. He is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia by Antipater, 377. He recalls Olympias, 379. He endeavours to secure Greece to himself, 380. He is driven out of Macedonia by Cassander, 401. He causes Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina to be put to death, 437.

Polystратus, Macedonian soldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his last words, *v.* 162.

Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, is defeated by Livius, and reduced to fly, *vii.* 1. He defeats Pausistratus, who commanded the fleet of Rhodes, by a stratagem, 5. He is defeated by Æmilius, and compelled to retire to Ephesus, 8.

Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Dionysius, having declared against that prince, flies to avoid falling into his hands, *iv.* 173.

Polyzelus, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuse, gives his brother umbrage, *iii.* 184. Theron his son-in-law, takes his part, *ibid.* Peace is made by the mediation of the poet Simonides, 185.

Pompeius (L.), Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Perseus, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himself valiantly, *vii.* 211.

Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, *viii.* 210. His conduct upon arriving in his government, 213. He offers Mithridates peace, 215. He gains several victo-

- ries over that prince, 216. He marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes and surrenders himself to him, 218. He pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians, 221. Tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucidæ, 222. He marches to Pontus, 224. He returns into Syria, 225. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia, 231. He takes Jerusalem, enters the temple, and even the Holy of Holies, 17. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, 232. He receives the honour of a triumph, *ibid.* After his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, 246. He is killed, 247.
- Pontus*, kingdom of Asia Minor, *i.* xxvi. Chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Pontus, cxxxiv.
- Popilius* (C.), is sent ambassador into Egypt, in order to put an end to the war there, vii. 136. He obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two Ptolemies, brothers, in quiet possession of it, 141. He is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the decree of the senate there in favour of the Greeks, 213.
- Porphyry*, Tyrian, a learned pagan, declared enemy of Christianity and the Holy Scriptures, vii. 174.
- Porus*, Indian king, refuses to submit to Alexander, v. 235. He is defeated and taken prisoner, 244. Alexander restores to him his dominions, *ibid.*
- Posts*. Invention of posts and couriers, ii. 286.
- Pothinus*, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra, viii. 246. He advises the death of Pompey, 247. He endeavours to render Cæsar odious to the Egyptians, 249. He prevents the effect of Cæsar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, *ibid.* Cæsar causes him to be put to death, 253.
- Potidæa*, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, to whom it was tributary, iii. 164. It is besieged and taken by the Athenians, *ibid.* Philip takes that city from them, iv. 413.
- Poverty*: love of poverty instituted at Sparta, iv. 70.
- Prexaspes*, confidant of Cambyzes, kills Smerdis by that prince's order, ii. 254. His base and monstrous flattery of Cambyzes, 255. He promises the Magi to declare before the people Smerdis the Magian the true son of Cyrus, 263. He speaks to the people from the top of a tower, declares the contrary to them, throws himself down from the top of the tower, and is killed, *ibid.*
- Priapatius*, son and successor of Arsaces II. king of the Parthians, viii. 26.
- Priene*, city of Ionia, iii. 161.
- Princes*. See *Kings*.
- Procles*, son of Aristodemus, reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthenes, *i.* cxv.
- Proculius*, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Cæsar's hands, viii. 285. Makes himself master of the person of that princess, *ibid.* Cæsar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, 286.
- Prodicus*: name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of the kings, *i.* cxvii.
- Proetus*, king of Argos, ii. 359.
- Promachus*, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with that prince, v. 276.
- Prophecies* respecting Pharaoh-Hophræ and the Egyptians, *i.* 104, &c. Prophecies concerning Nineveh, ii. 115. Babylon, 194. Cyrus, 196. Alexander, 231. Antiochus the Great, vii. 50. Seleucus Philopator, 124. Antiochus Epiphanes, 164. Jacob's prophecy concerning the Messiah, viii. 23.
- Prosperity*. Proof to which it puts the soul, ii. 141. Train of prosperity, iii. 502.
- Protagoras*, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamis, and reigns in his stead, iv. 374. Ochs confirms the possession of the throne to him, 378.
- Protagoras* of Abdera, sophist; opinion of Protagoras concerning the Divinity, iii. 299. The Athenians expel him their city, and cause his works to be burnt, *ibid.*
- Proteas*, Macedonian; Alexander drinks his health in the bowl of Hercules, v. 297.
- Proteus*, king of Egypt, *i.* 85. He detains Helen and her riches, and restores her to Menelaus, *i.* 87, &c.

- Prathous*, senator of Sparta, opposes the war against the Thebans, but is disregarded, iv. 288.
- Protagenes*, famous painter. Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, v. 477.
- Protomachus*, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands Arginusæ, and were condemned at their return, iii. 378.
- Providence*. Discourse of Socrates upon Providence, iv. 20.
- Proxenus*, of Bœotia, commands a body of Grecian troops in the army of Cyrus the Younger, against his brother Artaxerxes, iii. 424. He is seized by treachery, and put to death, 446. Character of Proxenus, 447.
- Prusias I.* king of Bithynia, i. cxxxiii.
- Prusias II.* king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, vii. 7. He makes war against Eumenes, 79. Services done him by Hannibal during that war, ibid. Prusias agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, 80. He endeavours to induce the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, 222. His abject flattery in the senate, 288. War of Prusias with Attalus, 293. The senate oblige him to lay down his arms, and to make Attalus satisfaction, ibid. Prusias, intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, 294, 295.
- Prytanis*, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, ii. 364.
- Psammenitus*, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who uses him with clemency, i. 113. He endeavours to reascend the throne, and is put to death, 114.
- Psammeticus*, one of the twelve kings who reigned at the same time in Egypt, is banished into the fens, and on what occasion, i. 96. He defeats the other eleven kings, and remains sole monarch of Egypt, 97. He makes war against the king of Assyria, ibid. He besieges Azotas, and takes it after a siege of twenty-nine years, ibid. He prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, 98. His method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, ibid.
- Psammis*, king of Egypt, i. 103.
- Ptolemais*, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, vi. 20.
- Ptolemy*, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdicas, iv. 309. Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 310.
- Ptolemy*, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, v. 62.
- Ptolemy I.* son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, v. 231. He is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 264. He is cured soon after, 265. Provinces which fall to him after the death of Alexander, 336. He causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 361. He enters into a league with Antipater, Craterus, and Antigonus, against Perdicas and Eumenes, 364. He makes himself master of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, 374. He takes Jerusalem, 375. He forms a league with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus against Antigonus, 420. He seizes the island of Cyprus, 426. He defeats Demetrius in battle, 427; and makes himself master of Tyre, 428. Defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, 429. Different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 437. Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 451, &c.
- Ptolemy assumes the title of king, v. 455. He sends aid to the Rhodians besieged by Demetrius, 467. The Rhodians, in gratitude, give him the title of Soter, 477. Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 487. Those four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, vi. 1. Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus from Demetrius, 11. He renews the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 15. He abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 24. Death of Ptolemy Soter, 31. Praise of that prince, ibid. Famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 26.
- Ptolemy II.* surnamed Philadelphus, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, vi. 24. The commencement of his reign, 44. His resentment against Demetrius

Phalereus, *ibid.* He causes the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek, to adorn his library, 62. He cultivates the amity of the Romans, 106. His liberality to the Roman ambassadors, *ibid.* Ptolemy sends aid to the Athenians besieged by Antigonus, 108. Revolt of Magas against Ptolemy, 109. The latter quells a conspiracy against his person, 110. Works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 114. He comes to an accommodation with Magas, 115. War between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 116. Peace between those princes, 118. Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 124. Character and qualities of that prince, 125. His taste for arts and sciences, 123. His application to make commerce flourish in his dominions 114.

Ptolemy III. surnamed Euergetes, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, vi. 124. He avenges the death of his sister Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 130. In returning from that expedition, he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 133. League of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 135. The latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, *ibid.* He causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 138. He augments the library of Alexandria, 139. He gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Cœle-syria, Phenicia, Judæa, and Samaria, 142. Arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 214. Death of Ptolemy Euergetes, *ibid.* Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 215.

Ptolemy IV. surnamed Philopator, ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Euergetes, vi. 215. Injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 249. Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Cœle-syria from Ptolemy, 223. Short truce between those two princes, 233. Ptolemy gains a great victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 236. He comes to Jerusalem, 237. Rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, 238. He grants Antiochus peace, 239. The Egyptians revolt against Philopator, 241. That prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses,

242. He puts Arsinoë, his wife and sister, to death, *ibid.* He dies worn out with debauches, 334, 335.

Ptolemy V. called Epiphanes, at the age of five years ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, vi. 336. Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 339. Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 346. Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Cœle-syria from Antiochus, 361. Antiochus retakes those provinces, 362. Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, 399. Ptolemy is declared of age, 400. He marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 418. He makes an alliance with the Achæans, vii. 55. He treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, 56, &c. He takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death; he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, 57. The Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, *ibid.* Ptolemy chooses Polycrates for his prime minister, 58. With that minister's assistance he gets the better of the rebels, *ibid.* He renews the alliance with the Achæans, *ibid.* He forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 87. The principal persons of his court poison him, *ibid.*

Ptolemy VI. called Philometor, at six years old succeeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, vii. 87. Ground of the war between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 127. Coronation of Ptolemy, 128. He is defeated by Antiochus, 130. He loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 132. The Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Euergetes II. surnamed also Physcon, in his place, 134. Antiochus replaces Philometor in appearance upon the throne, 137. The two brothers unite, and reign jointly, 138. The Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing them, 141. Philometor is dethroned by his brother Physcon, 347. He goes to Rome to implore the senate's clemency, 348. The Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between the two brothers, 349. New differences arise between Philometor and Phys-

con, 350. Philometor refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, 351. He gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, 352. He pardons him, and restores him his dominions, *ibid.* He marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 362. He permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, *ibid.* He marches to the aid of Alexander his son-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 364. Ammonius's plot against Ptolemy, 365. Upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometor takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in ascending his father's throne, *ibid.*

Ptolemy VII. called Euergetes II. and Physcon, son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, vii. 134. The two brothers unite and reign jointly, 138. They prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, 139. The Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 141. Physcon dethrones Philometor, 347. The Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 349. Physcon, dissatisfied with the part given to him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus, *ibid.* The Romans adjudge it to him, 350. The people of Cyrenaica oppose Physcon's entrance into their country, 351. That prince re-establishes himself in that country, and gives occasion to attempts against his life by his bad conduct, 351. He makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints thither against his brother, *ibid.* He undertakes to make himself master of the island of Cyprus, 352. Philometor defeats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, *ibid.*

Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometor, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, vii. 366. Physcon's excess of folly and debauchery, 379. Scipio Africanus the Younger goes to that prince's court, 381. Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter, by Philometor, named also Cleopatra, 395. Horrible cruelties

which he commits in Egypt, *ibid.* A general revolt compels him to quit that kingdom, 396. New cruelties of Physcon, *ibid.* He returns into Egypt, and re-ascends the throne, 398. He supports the impostor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.* He gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 401. Physcon's death, 403.

Ptolemy VIII. called Lathyrus, succeeds his father Physcon, vii. 403. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selene his youngest, 404. Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyzicenean against John Hyrcanus, 407. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selene from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, 412. Lathyrus sends an army to besiege Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, *ibid.* Barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, 413. He raises the siege of Ptolemais, 414. He makes an ineffectual attempt against Egypt, *ibid.* He is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 421. A rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, *ibid.* Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, 422. He dies soon after, *ibid.*

Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See *Alexander I.* son of Physcon.

Ptolemy X. son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See *Alexander II.*

Ptolemy XI. surnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II. vii. 431. He causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the influence of Cæsar and Pompey, viii. 234. He oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, 235. He is dethroned, *ibid.* The Alexandrians substitute his daughter Berenice in his place, *ibid.* He goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his re-establishment, 236. He causes most of the ambassadors, sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt, to be murdered, 237. An oracle of the Sibyl is

- set up against him, 238. Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 243. Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, *ibid.* His ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, 244. Death of Auletes, 245.
- Ptolemy XII.* son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, viii. 245. He expels Cleopatra, 246. He causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, 247. Cæsar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 249. He secures the person of Ptolemy, 251. He releases him, 256. Ptolemy renews the war against Cæsar, *ibid.* He is defeated, and drowned in the Nile endeavouring to escape, 257.
- Ptolemy I.* king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, who confiscate his treasures, vii. 437. He poisons himself, 438.
- Ptolemy II.* son of Ptolemy Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, viii. 251. Cæsar gives him the crown of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 257. Death of Ptolemy, poisoned by that princess, 259.
- Ptolemy*, son of Antony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Antony, viii. 271.
- Ptolemy Apion*, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica by his father, vii. 404. He leaves his kingdom to the Romans at his death, 417.
- Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or the Thunder, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court, and retires first to Lysimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus, vi. 25. He engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 46. He assassinates Seleucus, and possesses himself of his dominions, 51. He marries his sister Arsinoë, widow of Lysimachus, and causes her two children by that prince to be murdered, 53. He banishes her into Samothracia, *ibid.* He is soon after punished for those parricides by the Gauls, who kill him in a battle 55.
- Ptolemy Macron*, governor of the island of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor, revolts against that prince, enters into the service of Antiochus Euphron, and gives him possession of the island of Cyprus, vii. 131. Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Cœlæsyria and Palestine, *ibid.* He marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 156. He becomes a friend to the Jews, 343. Antiochus Eupator deprives him of his government, *ibid.* Ptolemy, through despair, poisons himself, *ibid.*
- Ptolemy*, son of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle against the Lacedæmonians, vi. 100.
- Ptolemy*, one of the principal officers of Philip, unites with Apelles in his conspiracy against that prince, vi. 272. Philip causes him to be put to death, 276.
- Pul*, king of the Assyrians, who repents upon the preaching of Jonah, ii. 80.
- Pulcher* (P. Claudius), consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal, the Carthaginian general, i. 216.
- Punic*: origin and signification of that word, i. 116. Punic wars, 196, 235; ii. 8.
- Pydna*, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, iv. 413. Famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perseus, near that city, vii. 244.
- Pylus*, a small city of Messenia, taken by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, iii. 243.
- Pyramid*. Description of the pyramids of Egypt, i. 7. Judgment to be formed of those famous structures, 10.
- Pyrrhias*, general of the Ætolians, is twice beaten by Philip, vi. 292.
- Pyrrhus*, son of Æacides, king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the rebels, vi. 8. He is re-established upon the throne of Epirus by Glaucias, king of Illyrium, 8. The Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, *ibid.* He retires to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 9. He distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, *ibid.* He goes to Egypt as a hostage for Demetrius, *ibid.* He marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, *ibid.* Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, *ibid.* Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 15. He divides that kingdom with Lysimachus, 18. He is soon obliged to quit it, 19. The Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, 66. That

- prince goes to Italy, 69. He defeats the consul Levinus, 73. He causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, 74. Conversation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 77. Pyrrhus gains a second advantage over the Romans, 85. Expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 86. He returns into Italy, 89. He plunders the temple of Proserpine in the country of the Locrians, 90. He is defeated by the Romans, 91. He returns into Epirus, 92. He throws himself into Macedonia, and makes himself master of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, *ibid.* Expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponnesus, 95. He besieges Sparta ineffectually, *ibid.* He is killed at the siege of Argos, 103. Good and bad qualities of Pyrrhus, 104, &c.
- Pythagoras*, a Lacedæmonian, commands part of the fleet of Cyrus the Younger, in the expedition of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes, *iii.* 424.
- Pythagoras*, son of Evagoras, defends the city of Salamis, besieged by Artaxerxes, during his father's absence, *iii.* 518.
- Pythagoras*, philosopher, *iii.* 192. He goes to Italy and settles at Crotona; where he opens a school of philosophy, 193. Noviciate of silence which he makes his disciples observe, 194.
- Pytharchus* of Cyzicum gains the favour of Cyrus, who gives him the revenues of seven cities for a pension, *ii.* 292.
- Pytheas*, magistrate of the Bœotians, induces them to unite their forces with those of the Achæans against the Romans, *vii.* 312. Metellus puts him to death, 313.
- Pytheas*, famous astronomer and geographer, *vii.* 301.
- Pythia*, name of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, *i.* xlv.
- Pythian*, celebrated games of Greece, *i.* liv.
- Pythias*, friend of Damon: trial to which their friendship was put, *iv.* 192.
- Pythus*, Lydian prince, generous offer which he makes Xerxes of his riches, *iii.* 12. Means which the princess, his wife, uses to make him sensible of the injustice and absurdity of his conduct, *ibid.* Cruelty which Pythus experiences from Xerxes, 15.
- Pythodorus*, sent by the Athenians to the aid of the Leontines, is banished for not having undertaken the conquest of Sicily, *iii.* 280.
- Pythou*, of Byzantium, famous rhetorician, is deputed by Philip to the Thebans to incline them to peace, *iv.* 476.

Q.

Quoit. See *Discus*.

R.

- Rabirius Posthumus*, Roman knight, goes to Ptolemy Auletes, in order to be paid the sums he had lent that prince at Rome *viii.* 244. Perfidy of Ptolemy towards him, *ibid.* Rabirius is accused at Rome of having assisted Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, *ibid.* Cicero undertakes his defence, 245.
- Race.* See *Course*.
- Ragau*; name of the plain where Nabuchodonosor conquered Phraortes, *ii.* 110.
- Rameses Miamun*, king of Egypt, *i.* 76. He makes the Israelites suffer infinite hardships, *ibid.*
- Rammius*, citizen of Brundisium; is ordered by Perseus to poison Eumenes, *vii.* 186. He goes to Valerius at Chalcis, discovers the whole to him, and follows him to Rome, *ibid.*
- Raphia*, city of Palestine, near which Antiochus the Great was defeated by Ptolemy Philopator, *vi.* 237.
- Reading*, of history especially: of what use it is to a prince, *v.* 6. Delicacy of the Lacedæmonians in respect to the books that youth were suffered to read, *ii.* 429.
- Regillus* (L. Æmilius) is charged with the command of the Roman fleet in the room of Livius, *vii.* 3. He gains a complete victory over Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, 8. He receives the honour of a triumph, 31.
- Regulus* (M. Attilius), consul, gains a great victory over the Carthaginians with his fleet, *i.* 201. He goes to Africa, 202. The Romans continue

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- Selene*, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon and Cleopatra, is compelled by her mother to marry her brother Lathyrus, vii. 404. Cleopatra makes her quit Lathyrus, and gives her in marriage to Antiochus Grypus, 416. Selene, after the death of Grypus, marries Antiochus Eusebes, 418. Eusebes having been driven out of his dominions, she keeps possession of Ptolemais with part of Phœnicia and Cœle-syria, and reigns there many years, 421. She conceives hopes of ascending the throne of Egypt, 423. She sends her two sons to Rome with that view, *ibid*.
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- Timotheus*, son of Conon, is sent by the Athenians with a fleet to the aid of the Thebans, *iv.* 282. He ravages the coasts of Laconia, and makes himself master of the island of Corcyra, *ibid.* He is employed by the Athenians in the war against the allies, 360. He is accused by Chares, and sentenced to pay a great fine, 362. He retires to Chalcis, and dies there, *ibid.* Fine saying of Timotheus, 318.
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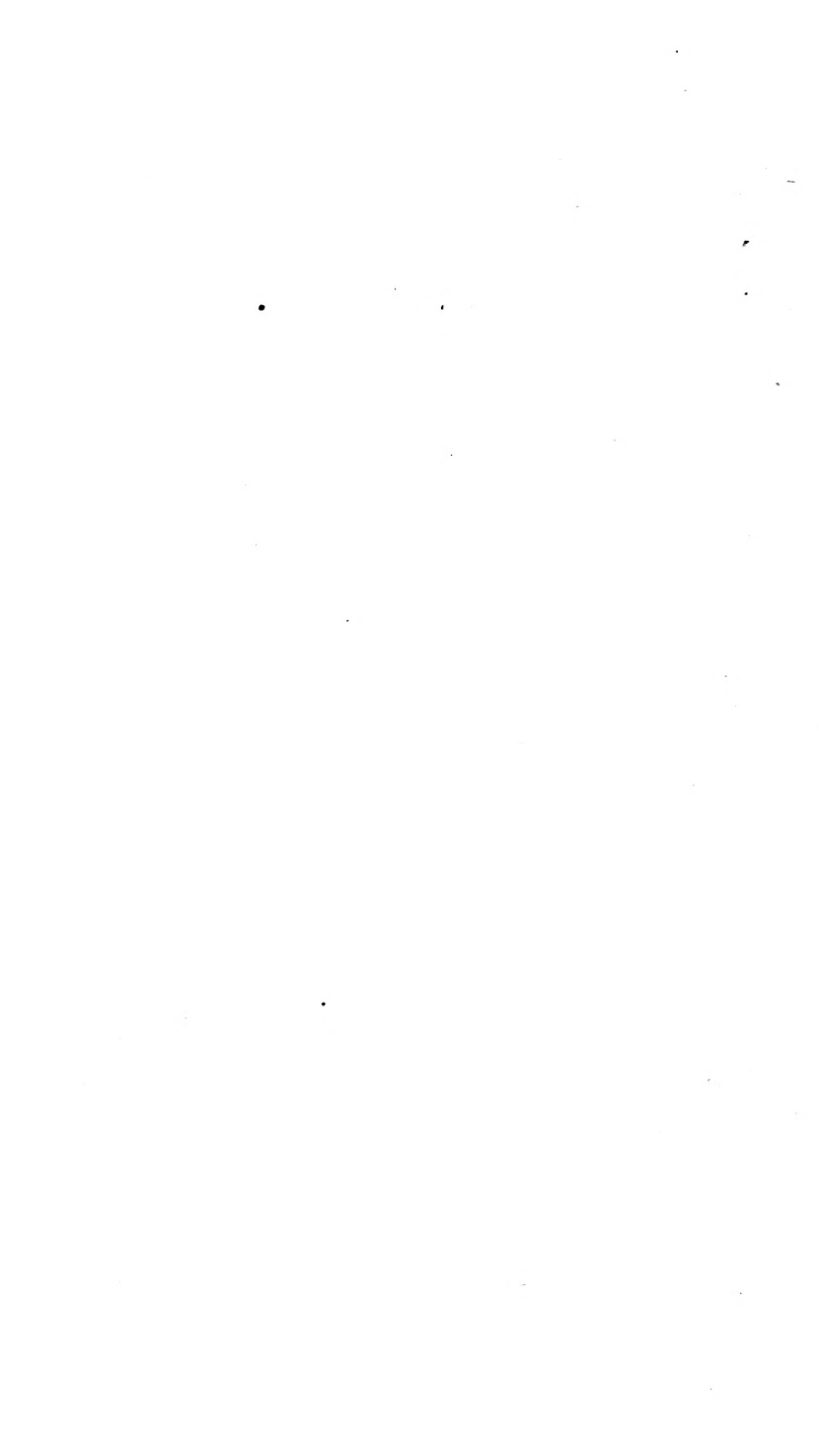
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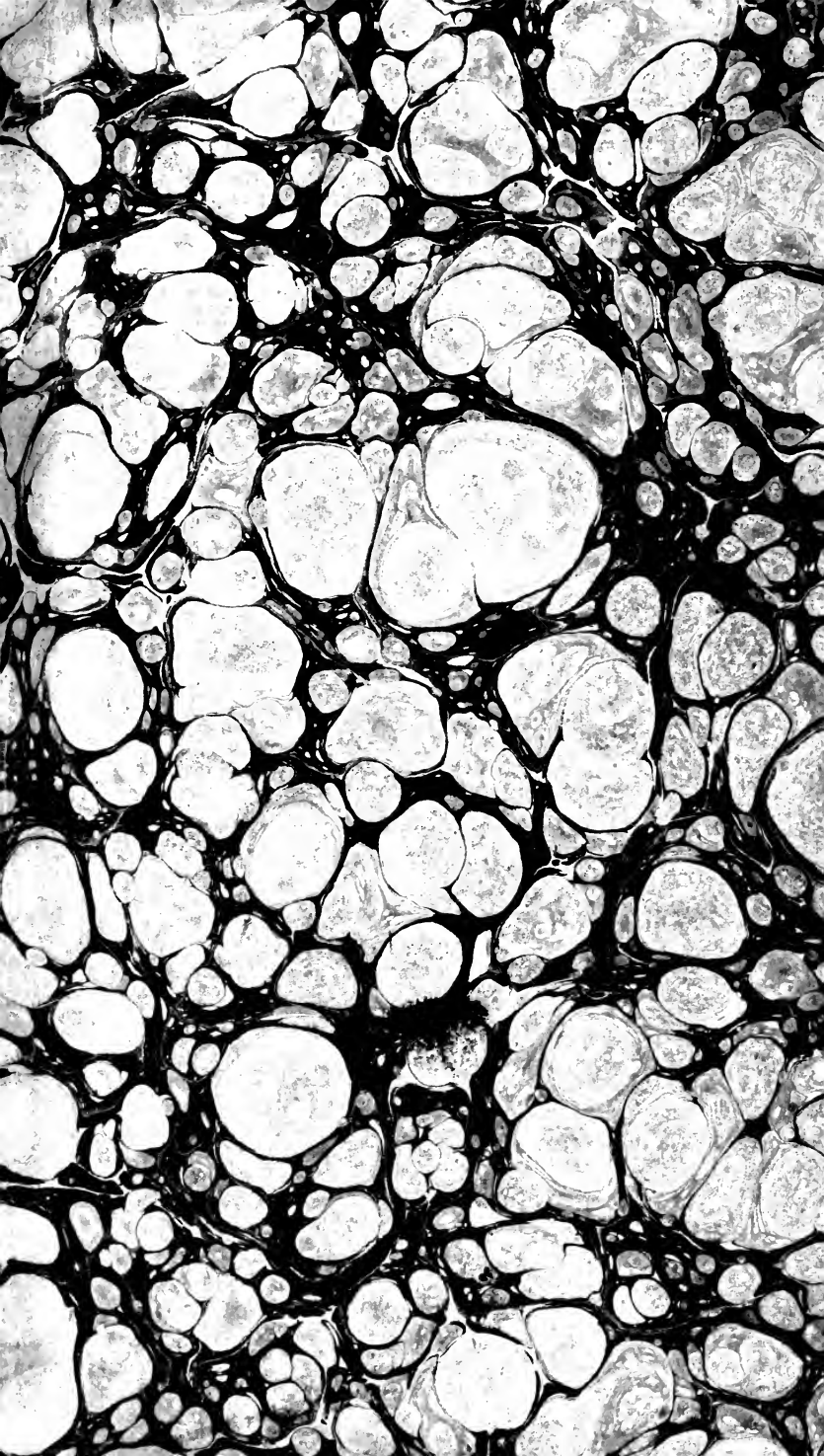
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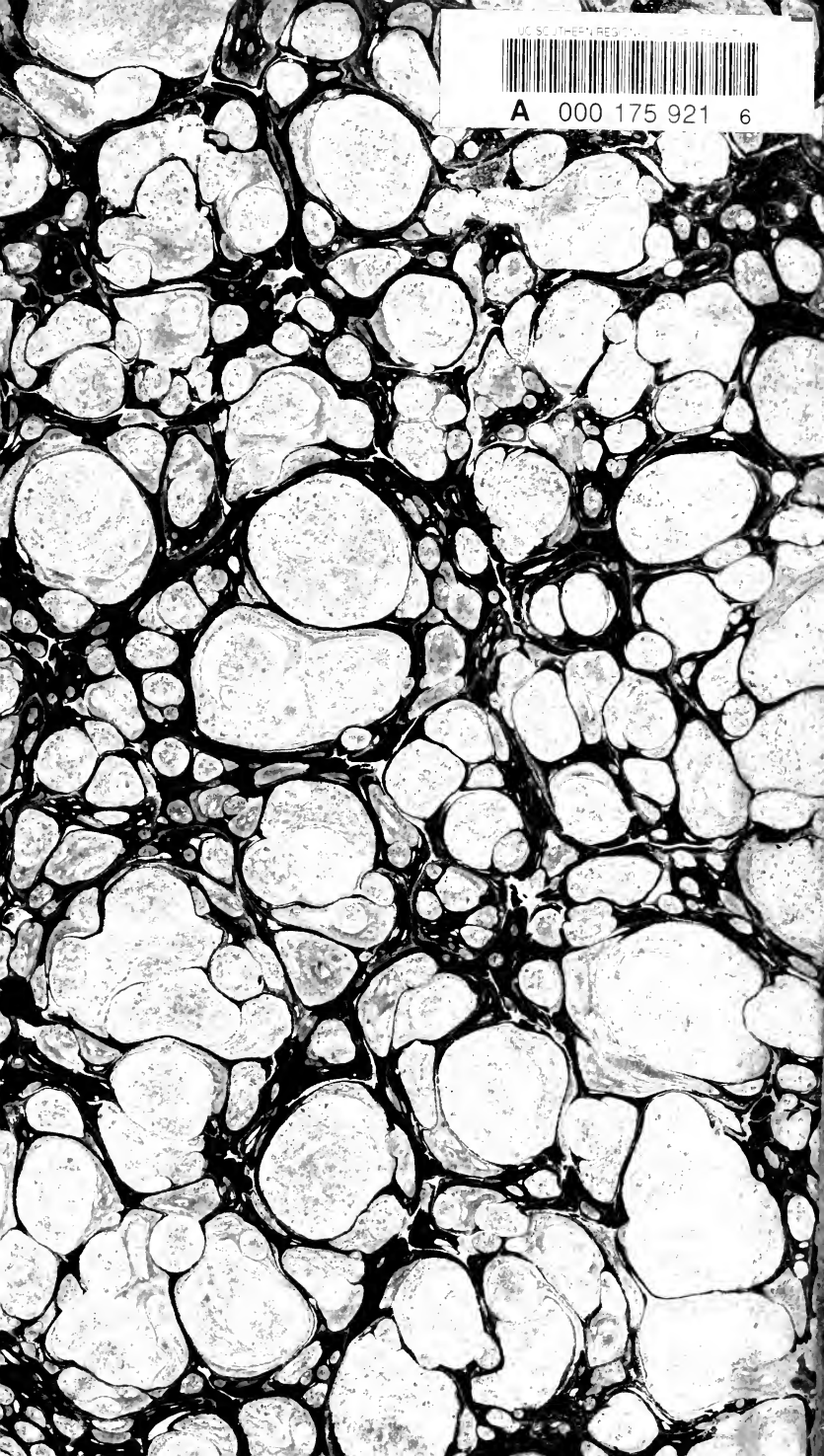
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